THE
HISTORY
OF
WALES,
IN NINE BOOKS:
WITH AN
APPENDIX.

By the Rev. WILLIAM WARRINGTON,

K

CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF BESBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE THIRD EDITION.

> "Wherever Nature, though in narrow ſpace,
> Foſters, by Freedom's aid, a liberal race;
> Sees Virtue ſave them from Oppreſſion's den,
> And cries, with exultation, 'Theſe are men;'
> Though in Bœotia or Batavia born,
> Their deeds the ſtory of the world adorn."
> HAYLEY's ESSAY on HISTORY.

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IN LABORE QUIES

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO HIS GRACE
WILLIAM
DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE,
IN WHOSE PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CHARACTER
ARE PRESERVED UNIMPAIRED,
THE HONOURS OF A FAMILY,
ILLUSTRIOUS BY DESCENT,
AND
DISTINGUISHED, THROUGH SEVERAL AGES,
FOR A STEADY AND TEMPERATE ADHERENCE
TO THE CONSTITUTION AND LIBERTIES
OF GREAT BRITAIN,
AS WELL AS EXEMPLARY FOR THE
MILDER VIRTUES OF PRIVATE LIFE,
THIS HISTORY,
OF A PEOPLE WHO LONG DEFENDED
THE RIGHTS OF NATURE AND OF FREEDOM,
IS INSCRIBED,
BY HIS GRACE'S MOST OBEDIENT
AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,
WILLIAM WARRINGTON.

PREFACE.

THE circumſtances and actions of the People, whoſe hiſtory is related in this work, ſtand ſingle and original in the annals of the world. A nation, who, from remote antiquity, were diſtinguiſhed by their independency of ſpirit, defending for ages the rights of nature and of liberty in the boſom of their native mountains, affords a ſpectacle ſufficiently intereſting, to awaken curioſity, to excite admiration, and to call forth every liberal ſentiment.

It is therefore a juſt occaſion of regret, as well as of ſurpriſe, that the Hiſtory of Wales is no where to be found, to this day, but in the Chronicle of the monk Caradoc of Llancarvan; in which nothing farther is given, than a ſimple detail of facts. In this intereſting field of hiſtory, no attempt has yet been made, to inveſtigate the motives of policy, to trace back effects to their cauſes, to delineate with juſt diſcrimination perſonal or national characters, and to digeſt the materials of the narration into that perſpicuous order which is eſſential to the grace and utility of hiſtorical compoſition.

This deficiency, the author has attempted to ſupply, in the work now offered to the world. The deſign will be allowed to be laudable; with what ſucceſs it has been executed, it remains for the public to determine. He flatters himſelf, that he has opened many new ſources of information; he has alſo been careful to examine the old; and it is with confidence he can ſay, that he has neither ſervilely tranſcribed, nor implicitly followed the modern hiſtorians. What he has done, neither precludes, nor is intended to preclude, the future labours of other writers who are deeply read in the Welſh language and manuſcripts. The field is ſtill open to a more able hiſtorian, and to the profound reſearches of the learned antiquary.

From an idea, that minute inquiries into the antiquities of a country are not properly within the province of the general hiſtorian, the author has purpoſely declined them; and therefore hopes he ſhall not be charged with deficiency, in not having executed what it was never his intention to undertake.

It is not the leaſt praiſe of an hiſtorian, that his writings do not diſcover his country: leſt from the ſentiments which breathe through the following pages the author ſhould be thought to have failed in this eſſential point, he thinks it neceſſary to declare that he is an Engliſhman; and whatever preponderancy may be diſcovered in this work to the ſide of the Welſh, it is neither the partiality of an author to his ſubject, nor the preudice of a native; but the volunary tribute of juſtice and humanity vhich is due to the cauſe of freeom, and the violated rights of ature.

In the courſe of this work the uthor has been much indebted, for he peruſal of the works of many aluable writers, to Thomas Faulkner, Eſq; of Cheſter; a gentleman vho mingles with deep erudition he liberal deſire, of giving his ſſiſtance to any deſign, which may e uſeful to the republic of letters. Ie is under the like obligation to hilip Yorke, Eſq; of Erthig, near Vrexham, in Denbighſhire; whoſe aſte and knowledge in literature, vhoſe gentleneſs of manners and enevolent ſpirit, render him an amiable friend, and a valuable man For the improved orthography o the Welſh words interſperſed through the work, the author has been indebted to the ingenious Mr. William Owen, of London.

eceſſary DIRECTIONS *to the* READER *who is a Stranger to the* WELSH LANGUAGE; *ſhewing the* RIGHT PRONUNCIATION *of all the* LETTERS *that differ from the* ENGLISH ORTHOGRAPHY.

TO read Welſh, a right Knowledge of the Alphabet is all that is neceſſary; for, (not oing to a nicety) all the Letters retain one nvariable Sound, which muſt be diſtinctly proounced, as there are no Mutes. Letters that e circumflexed muſt be pronounced long, as *ôn* like the Engliſh Bone; *Bŵn*, Boon; *Bîn*, een, &c.

G, as *C* Engliſh in *Can*; but never ſoft as in *ity*.

Ch, as the Greek χ properly pronounced. If nſtead of touching the Palate with the Tip of e Tongue to pronounce K, you touch it with e Root, it will effect this ſound.

Dd, as *TH* Engliſh in *Them*; that is very oft; not hard as in *Thought*.

F, as *V* Engliſh.

Ff, as *F* and *Ff* Engliſh.

G, as G Engliſh in *God*, but never ſoft as in *enius*.

I, as *I* Engliſh in *King*, and *ee* in *Been*; but ever as *I* in *Fine*. Fine, according to the Welſh rthography, would be pronounced Veenè.

Ll, as *L* Aſpirated; and can be repreſented in Engliſh only by Lh or Llh.

Th, as *Th* Engliſh in *Thought*; but never ſoft as in *Them*.

U, as *I* Engliſh in *Bliſs*, *This*, *It*, &c.

W, as *Oo* Engliſh in *Good*.

Y, as *U* Engliſh in *Burn*, though in the laſt Syllable of a Word, and all Monoſyllables, except Y, Ydd, Ym, Yn, Yr, Ys, Fy, Dy, Myn, it is like I in Sin, It, &c. both its Powers are nearly ſhewn in the Word Sundry, or Syndry.

E R R A T A.

Page 52, line 4, for *Attilla*, read *Atilla*.
66, 18, for *which was previouſly allotted*, read *which h*
had been previouſly.
74, 17, for *Suffolk*, read *Suſſex*.
77, 15, for *which was allotted*, read *which had been allott*
157, 4, for *Meredyth*, read *Meredydh*.
361, 10, for *and with it*, read *and with them*.
319, 10, *Dele the date* 1038.
448, 6, for 3*d of Stephen*, read 2*d of Stephen*.
512, 8, for *without attendance*, read *without attendants*.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
WALES.

BOOK I.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY BEFORE THE RETREAT OF THE ROMANS OUT OF BRITAIN.

It is probable, that Britain was firſt coloniſed by the Gauls,[1] about one thouſand years before the birth of our Saviour;[2] a period of time coeval with the reigns of David and Solomon. The names of Albion,[1] and of Britain,[2] are ſuppoſed to have been given to the iſland by the Belgic Gauls, who inhabited the oppoſite ſhores.

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[1] Verſtegan, cap. IV. p. 88. Buchanani Rerum Scoticarum hiſtoria, p. 67. Amſterdam edit.

[2] Whitaker's hiſtory of Mancheſter, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 7.

It is common to all people who derive their ideas from the few objects which ariſe in a ſtate of nature, to give names to perſons and to things, from the peculiar circumſtances incident to them. Accordingly, the Gauls gave to this country the name of Albion, from the eminences and chalky cliffs, which were conſtantly expoſed to their view.[3]

It was ſomewhat more than three centuries before the Roman invaſion of Britain, that the northern tribes of Europe began that ſpirit of emigration, which afterwards like a deluge overwhelmed the weſtern world. It was likewiſe about that period, that the Belgæ, forſaking their native ſeats upon the banks of the Rhine, migrated into Britain,[1] and ſettled in the weſtern, and in the ſouthern parts of the iſland.[2]

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[1] Whitaker's hiſtory of Mancheſter, p. 10.

[2] On the etymology of this name, ſee ibid. p. 11. and Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 8. N. B. He wrote in the year 1568.

[3] Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, 2d edit. p. 10.

The language of the ancient Britons, their religion and Druidical inſtitutions, as well as their attachment to that *Order* of men called *Bards*,* were exactly ſimilar to thoſe which prevailed among their probable anceſtors the Gauls.[3]

Before the time of Cæſar's invaſion, the iſland was divided into three parts, Lloegria or England, Albania or Scotland, and Cambria or the province of Wales.[4] Each of theſe was ſubdivided into diſtricts under their reſpective *Reguli*, over which they preſided with a limited authority.[1] The principles of civil liberty are diſcerned in the polity of ancient Britain, in the reſtraint which was laid upon the ſovereign power by general aſſemblies, whoſe concurrence with the royal authority was neceſſary to enact or to abrogate laws. The order of ſucceſſion in the Britiſh ſtates was commonly hereditary. But the idea of indefeaſible right had not, in that early period, affected the principles of government; for the line of ſucceſſion was frequently broken by the king and nobility, whoſe concurrence for this purpoſe was abſolutely neceſſary.[2] The equal diviſion of property by *Gavel kind* uniformly took place in the diſpoſition of private inheritance.[3]

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[1] Rowland's Mona Antiqua, Dublin edit. ſect. IV. p. 19.

[2] Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, 2d edit. p. 232. Buchanan Hiſt. Scot. Rer. p. 55. * *Beirdd.*

[3] Buchanan's Hiſt. Scot. Rer. p. 53, 67.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 10.

Such was the regulation of the Britiſh ſtates in times of tranquillity, when no domeſtic or foreign danger threatened the public ſafety. But in ſeaſons of emergency, when the Common-Weal called for the union and the force which reſult from the government of one head, the confederated princes elected a ſupreme ſovereign;[1] and the perſon who was called to this dignity had the title of *Brenhin Prydain Oll*, or the king of all Britain.[2] This occaſional honour, by a maxim of ſtate, was originally confined to one Imperial line; and in later times was continued through its two branches, the *Cynethian* and *Cornwall* families, until it finally cloſed in the perſon of Cadwalader, the laſt king of the ancient Britons.[3] As unlimited authority was veſted in the ſupreme ſovereign, it is probable, that the Britons did not ſuffer ſuch a power to continue beyond the ſeaſon of neceſſity and danger.

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[1] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 171. Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, 2d edit. vol. I. p. 336. vol. II. p. 6, 92, 206.

[2] Whitaker, ibid. vol. I. p. 335. [3] ibid. p. 363.

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[1] Rowland, p. 171. Whitaker, ibid. vol. I. p. 206, 207.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 171.

[3] ibid. p. 171.

About fifty years before the Christian Æra.

The love of glory, like every other paſſion, is heightened by indulgence, and becomes inſatiate in proportion to the extent and variety of conqueſts. Under the impulſe of this ſpirit, Julius Cæſar invaded Britain. The ſeaſon of the year not allowing him to extend his conqueſts, he concluded a peace with the natives; and, having taken hoſtages for its obſervance, he ſuddenly embarked in the night for Gaul.[1] The ſpring following he returned with a conſiderable reinforcement. On this occaſion, Caſſivellaunus * was veſted with the ſupreme command of the war, by a general aſſembly of the Britiſh States. Having received conſiderable loſſes, his territories having been laid waſte, and eſpecially being alarmed at the revolt of the auxiliary Britons, he was ſoon after obliged to ſue for peace.[2] Before that time Cæſar had marched into the country as far as the Thames,[3] and having forded that river near Windſor, he ſtormed Verulamium,[1] the principal town in the territory of Caſſivellaunus. After this expedition, being afraid of commotions in Gaul, he received the ſubmiſſion of the Britons; and taking with him hoſtages for the ſecurity of the peace, he returned to the continent.[2]

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[1] Cæſar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. IV. p. 145, 154.

* *Caſwallon.*

[2] Cæſar, ibid. lib. V. p. 176.

[3] Tafwyſc or Tame Water.

The death of Cæſar, with the ſucceeding troubles in the Empire, allowed the Britons to enjoy, ſome years, a ſeaſon of tranquillity; and which was continued through the reigns of Auguſtus and Tiberius, produced by the rational policy of reſtricting the boundaries of the Roman Empire.

The great preparations which Caligula made for the invaſion of Britain, ended in a A. D. 40.

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[1] Verolanum takes its name from the river VVer, called in Britiſh Gwernlan, Caer Municipium by the Romans, and Verlamceſter by the Saxons, by whom it was deſtroyed. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

[2] Cæſar's Comment. Grævius' edit. lib. V. p. 161, 164, 165, 175, 176.

vain parade upon the ocean, and in offering inſult to the dignity of a Roman Senate.[1]

In the reign of the Emperor Claudius, the Romans gained a permanent footing in the Iſland, owing to the diviſions, which had ever ſubſiſted among the Britons. The Belgic inhabitants, who were engaged in commerce, and who reſided in the towns of the Iſle of Wight,[2] and in thoſe which lay upon the weſtern coaſt, were with ſome difficulty ſubdued by Veſpaſian.[3] The native Britons, more independent and brave from their different habits of life, continued their reſiſtance againſt Plautius and Oſtorius Scapula, who ſucceſſively commanded the Roman armies. A. D. 43. On the arrival of Plautius in his government, he defeated the Britons in ſeveral actions; but finding that his victories proved indeciſive, and ſeeing them prepared for further reſiſtance, he deſired that the Emperor would take in perſon the command of the forces.[1] When Claudius joined the army, which lay encamped upon the banks of the Thames, he found the paſſage of that river diſputed. The Britons, A. D. 44. however, were at length obliged to give way, and he advanced into the country of the Trinobantes,* and took the ſtrong fortreſs of Camulodunum,† which had been the reſidence of the Britiſh king Cunobeline.‡ Theſe fortunate events were immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion, or the conqueſt, of other nations.

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[1] Dion Caſſius Leunclavii edit. lib. LIX. p. 659. Inſtead of invading Britain, Caligula employed his ſoldiers in gathering cockle-ſhells into their helmets, from the ſea-ſhore, as the ſpoils of the enemy; and ſent letters to the Roman Senate, demanding a triumph, as if he had obtained a victory over the enemy.

[2] Called Wight by the Saxons but Gwydd by the Britons, ſignifying, a conſpicuous place. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 17.

[3] Suetonius, Oxford edit. book VIII. p. 240.

When the affairs of the Provinces were ſettled, the Emperor returned to Rome, leaving the newly ſubdued ſtates, and the further conqueſt of Britain, to the direction of Plautius. The name of Britannicus which Claudius aſſumed, on his return into Italy, and the ſplendour of his triumph, mark the formidable idea, which had been conceived of the Britiſh arms, by the Roman people.[1]

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[1] Dion Caſſius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

* *Tre'n-obantwys.* † *Camaled-ddin* and *Camddin.*

‡ *Cynfelyn.*

During the remainder of the government of Plautius, no conſiderable advances were made in the conqueſt of the country; and he ſoon after returned to Rome, and was ſucceeded by Oſtorius Scapula.

A. D. 50. This general found the affairs of his province in the greateſt confuſion. The winter had already commenced: the Iceni,* the Brigantes,† and other nations, thinking they had little to dread from a new general who was unknown to the army, revolted and had recourſe to arms. After ſeveral bloody encounters, theſe nations were reduced to obedience, and Oſtorius carried his arms into many parts of Britain, which had been hitherto unknown.

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[1] Dion Caſſius, Leuncl. lib. LX. p. 679.

* *Uchcyniaid*, Upper ſettlers. † *Brigyntwys*, Firſt-comers.

In this expedition he forced his way through the Cangi,[1] who oppoſed him, in whom the principal ſtrength of each nation conſiſted; and, continuing his march, he penetrated as far as the coaſt which lies upon the Iriſh ſea.[2]

In the courſe of this war, the fate of Britain depended upon the virtues and military talents of Caractacus.* This prince was ſovereign of the territory inhabited by the Ordovices[1]* and the Silures,† and was the ſon of the late king Cunobeline.[2] Having with infinite reſources, and with variety of fortunes, oppoſed, nine years,[3] the Roman arms, he was at length obliged to retire among the Silures. And this brave people, whom neither mildneſs nor ſeverity had ſubdued, eagerly ranged under his conduct. In order to preſerve their territories from being made the ſeat of war, Caractacus marched into the country of the Ordovices, where he ſtationed his army in a ſituation, choſen with great military ſkill.[4] At this place, he was oppoſed by Oſtorius with the legionary troops. The few moments which preceded this important action, were employed by Caractacus in animating his ſoldiers. But their valour was unequally oppoſed to the force of diſcipline; and the Britiſh camp was ſtormed with great A. D. 52. ſlaughter, though not without conſiderable reſiſtance. In this battle, the wife and daughter of the Britiſh king were taken priſoners; and his brothers, ſoon after, ſurrendered themſelves. Caractacus himſelf ſurvived this misfortune, to experience a more cruel deſtiny. After his defeat, retiring to the country of the Brigantes, Cartiſmandua, the queen of that territory, with a view of gaining the friendſhip of the Romans, or afraid of their reſentment, betrayed him into the hands of Oſtorius; and he was ſent to Rome as a priſoner of the utmoſt importance. A general curioſity was excited in Italy, to behold the figure of this extraordinary man, whoſe ſuperior talents and virtue had been ſo long, and ſo ably employed in oppoſing the Roman power.[1] The magnanimity of this prince, when he was exhibited a public ſpectacle at Rome, has been a frequent ſubject of encomium.*

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[1] *Goeangiaid.* Each nation or tribe had numbers of ſtout young men, called Cangi, whoſe buſineſs was to protect the cattle, and remove them from one paſture to another.

Baxter's Gloſſary, p. 73.

[2] Taciti Annales, Antwerp edit. lib. XII. p. 195, 196.

* *Caradog.*

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 32, 33. * *Arddyſieich*, the inhabitants who had ſettled beyond or north of the Dyfi. Lewis Morris.

† *Iſelwyr*, Lowlanders, being the inhabitants of the lower part of Wales, between the Severn and Wye. L. Morris.

[2] Baxter's Gloſſary, p. 67.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 32.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 33, 34, called *Caer Caradog*, an eminence ſituated between the rivers Clue and Clevidia in Shropſhire.

The habits of war and of conqueſt, with the cruel nature of their popular amuſements, had introduced into the character of the Romans a degree of ferocity, inconſiſtent with juſt ideas of heroiſm; and which, too frequently, ſteeled them againſt the impreſſions of pity, and led them to diſdain, as unmanly weakneſs, the finer feelings of humanity.

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[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 196, 197.

* The ſpeech of Caractacus to the Emperor Claudius. Tacit. Annal. lib. XII. "If the moderation of my mind "in proſperity had been anſwerable to my quality and "fortune, I might have come a friend rather than a cap- "tive into this city; and you without diſhonour might "have entered into league with me, royally deſcended, "and then at the head of many nations. As my ſtate at "preſent is diſgraceful; ſo yours is honourable and glo- "rious. I had horſes, men, arms and riches; why then "is it ſtrange I ſhould be loath to part with them? But "ſince your power and empire muſt be univerſal, we of "courſe among all others muſt be ſubject. If I had im- "mediately yielded, neither my fortune nor your glory "had been ſo eminent in the world. My grave would "have buried the memory of it as well as me: whereas "if you ſuffer me to live now, your clemency will live in "me for ever, as an example to after ages."

This defeat of the Silures was ſoon revenged, by ſeveral victories which they gained A. D. 53. over the Roman forces; and in this ſituation Oſtorius died, worn out with anxiety and fatigue.[1]

After his death, the Emperor ſent Aulus Didius into Britain: but the age of that general prevented any extraordinary exertions againſt the enemy;[2] and he was ſucceeded by Verannius, who, dying a little time after A. D. 57. he had taken the command, left the Roman concerns in the greateſt confuſion.[3]

In this ſtate of affairs, Suetonius Paulinus A. D. 58. was ſent to command the Roman forces in

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[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XII. p. 198.

[2] Ibid. p. 198.

[3] Ibid. lib. XIV. p. 250.

Britain. His firſt undertaking was to ſubdue the Ordovices, who inhabited that part of the iſland which is now called North Wales; and he ſecured the conqueſts he had made, by ſettling garriſons in the country. Suetonius was the firſt Roman, who penetrated as far as Mona.[1] Being oppoſed by the Druids* on his entrance into the iſland, and influenced alſo by national and religious animoſity, he maſſacred many of thoſe people, cut down their groves, laid level their altars, and deſtroyed the ſeminary of that ancient ORDER.[2] After this event, the Druids are ſaid to have retired into Ireland, to the Iſle of Man,† and into the Orkneys and Hebrides.[3] In a ſubſequent period being driven out of theſe retreats, by chriſtian zeal, they are likewiſe ſaid to have ſought an aſylum in Norway, Iceland, and other regions of the north:[1] at length, the Druidical ſyſtem was univerſally aboliſhed, after it had long eſtabliſhed a boundleſs tyranny upon the ruins of human reaſon.

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[1] Taciti Vita Agricolæ, Op. p. 457.

* *Derwyddon*, or *Drywidion*.

[2] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 151. Rowland, p. 100.

† *Manaw*.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 101, 107.

It was an uniform principle, in the policy of the Roman ſtate, to exerciſe a mild dominion over the nations they had conquered, but this was changed to a ſyſtem of ſeverity, when the ſubdued provinces, from a ſenſe of injury or of freedom, revolted from their obedience. The nature of their government was likewiſe ſtained, by the rapacity, and by the ſevere adminiſtration of individuals. Thus the Roman yoke, however lightly it might be borne by *Aſiatics*, who were tamed to ſubmiſſion by hereditary ſlavery, was an oppreſſive burden to the Britons, bred in the ideas and in the habits of a wild independency. At this juncture, their native ſpirit, impatient of reſtraint and reſentful of injury, was urged into fury by a train of evils, which acted equally upon their feelings, as on their national pride and ſuperſtition. An impoſition of taxes upon their lands and cattle, the arbitrary violation of property, with the frequent indignities offered to their women, were cauſes which kept alive a ſenſe of reſentment.[1] They were likewiſe affected by the treatment of Boadicea, a powerful ſovereign of the Iceni. This princeſs had juſt become a widow, and was left to the protection of the Roman ſtate; her huſband alſo, by his teſtament, had made the Emperor Claudius coheir with his daughters, in hopes that it might render him indulgent to his family. But that prince was no ſooner dead, than his treaſures were ſeized, and his territories deſolated;[2] the foulneſs of the procedure being coloured by the indecent pretence, that the Roman law permitted only citizens to bequeath their property.[1] The remonſtrance of the queen againſt theſe injuries, produced no other effect than to accumulate indignities upon her family; the chaſtity of her daughters was violated, and her own perſon diſhonoured, by being publicly ſcourged.[2]

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[1] Rowland, p. 110.

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[1] Galgacus's Speech, Taciti vit. Agric. Op. p 462.

[2] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

These evils, however enormous, were only partial, and they did not extend to every part of the iſland. But the late deſtruction of the Druids, it is probable, gave a general ſhock to the feelings of the Britons; and with the fury of enthuſiaſts, they ruſhed to the ſtandard of Boadicea. A. D. 60. The firſt impreſſion of this multitude was aſtoniſhingly great: like the ſea overſwelling its bounds, they carried with them irreſiſtible force, and deſolated the country. The two cities, Camulodunum and Verulamium, firſt experienced their fury,[3] the inhabitants of which colonies were ſlaughtered without any diſtinction of rank or ſex, and under circumſtances of uncommon barbarity:[1] almoſt an entire legion were cut in pieces, coming to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen; and eighty thouſand perſons, either Roman citizens or allies, are ſaid to have periſhed in the general carnage.[2] It is to be lamented, that in attempting to recover the freedom of her country, ſo much cruelty ſhould have ſtained the character of this princeſs; but ſome extenuation may be found in the nature of her own wrongs, in the injuries which her ſubjects had ſuffered, and in the fierceneſs of uncultivated life.

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[1] Heineccius Element. Jur. lib. II. Tit. XII.

[2] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 251.

[3] Ibid. p. 251, 252.

A. D. 60. SUETONIUS, at this time, was engaged in the conqueſt of Mona. Hearing of the revolt, he marched with confidence, through an irritated country, to London,[3] a place of

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[1] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 700. [2] Ibid, p. 704.

[3] THIS city was originally called *Tronewydd*, or New Troy: afterwards *Dinas Beli*, from having been the reſidence of Belus; then it was called Caer Ludd, from king Lud; but its general appellation was Llundain.

extent,

extent, and of great commercial importance.[1] Finding himſelf unable to keep poſſeſſion of the town, he was obliged to take the field with a few cohorts of auxiliaries, with a ſingle legion, and the *Vexillarii*[2] of another, and to leave the women, the aged, and the infirm, to the fury of the enemy.[3] With this army, conſiſting only of ten thouſand men, Suetonius oppoſed Boadicea, at the head of two hundred and thirty thouſand Britons.[4] On this deciſive day, that princeſs appeared in a chariot, with her daughters by her ſide; and, in a military dreſs, rode through the ranks, to animate the ſoldiers.[5] Beſides this, the Britons had another incitement to victory, as they were to fight for the ſafety of their families, and in the preſence of their wives, all of whom, agreeably to the cuſtom of their country, were ranged in waggons upon the rear of the army.[1] But valour alone, unſupported by diſcipline, was not able to make any impreſſion on the firmneſs of veteran troops; and after a long and obſtinate reſiſtance, the Britiſh army was entirely defeated. Near eighty thouſand of the Britons fell in this day's action, or in the purſuit. Boadicea, unwilling to ſurvive the ruin of her country, ſuddenly diſappeared, having put an end to her own life, as is imagined, by poiſon.[2] It is aſtoniſhing, that after the ſevere defeats which the Britons had received, they ſhould be able to keep their national ſtrength unbroken, and their ſpirit unſubdued.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 20.

[2] Various are the opinions reſpecting the Vexillarii, the moſt probable is, that they were light armed troops belonging to each legion.

[3] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252.

[4] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXII. p. 704. [5] Ibid. p. 704.

A. D. 62. THE danger and difficulty of the war were ſo great, that Nero was inclined to relinquiſh the conqueſt of Britain. Being informed that the rough demeanour of Suetonius might be ſome obſtacle to a peace, he recalled him into Italy; and he placed ſeveral officers ſucceſſively in command, whoſe inactivity or milder temper gave time for reſentments to ſubſide.[1]

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[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 252. [2] Ibid. p. 253.

These generals were ſucceeded by others, of more active and martial diſpoſitions. Petilius Cerealis ſubdued a great part of the Brigantes, who inhabited the northern diſtricts of England; and Julius Frontinus, conquered from the Silures, the foreſt of *Dean,[2] and the preſent counties of Hereford, and Monmouth.[3]

A. D. 75.

During the time that the Roman intereſt thus fluctuated in Britain, the inhabitants were expoſed to every injury and inſult, which might be expected from the rapacity of luxurious governors, and the will of a licentious ſoldiery. To remedy theſe evils, to give ſtability to conqueſt, and to introduce peace and order, with the mild habits of ſocial life, required the virtues, and the well tempered policy of Julius Agricola.

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[1] Taciti Ann. lib. XIV. p. 253.

* In Britiſh, *Cantref Coch.* [2] So called from the Danes, Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75.

[3] Taciti in vit. Agric. Op. p. 458.

A. D. 78. THIS Roman was ſent by Veſpaſian to command the forces in Britain, where he had already acquired a conſiderable reputation by his military ſervices. On his arrival, he found the Ordovices revolted, who had begun their hoſtilities, by cutting off a ſquadron of horſe, ſtationed upon the frontiers. It was late in the ſummer when he opened the campaign, ſupported only by the *Vexillarii* of the legions, and a body of auxiliary troops. On his approach, the Ordovices, not daring to face him in the field, retired to the mountains; into which difficult places, they were immediately purſued, and the country laid waſte with great ſlaughter of the inhabitants. This ſucceſs induced Agricola to attempt the ſecond conqueſt of Mona. The chiefs of the Ordovices had retired into that iſland, in which they thought themſelves perfectly ſecure, the Romans not having any ſhips upon the coaſt, and regarding the ſtraits of *Menai* as impaſſable: but the auxiliaries of the army, by order of Agricola, having croſſed that arm of the ſea on horſeback, the Britons were ſo aſtoniſhed at a ſpectacle to them altogether new, that they immediately laid down their arms.[1]

When Agricola had finiſhed the conqueſt of Mona, he directed his views to the milder deſigns of peace and reformation. Well inſtructed in the art of governing, he was more deſirous of preventing the cauſes of diſcontents than of puniſhing their effects: and equally tempering lenity with rigour, he aboliſhed that ſyſtem of tyranny which had ſo frequently driven the Britons to revolt, and had fixed in their breaſts the moſt fatal reſentments.[2] To theſe examples of juſtice and humanity, he added others of an extenſive and liberal policy. With the moſt engaging manners and addreſs, he drew many of the Britons out of their deſerts into ſocial communities; and perſuaded them to change their rude habits, and precarious ſubſiſtence, for the arts of peace, and the comforts of civilized life.[1] The Roman people, from a ſingular policy, were uſed to extend with their conqueſts the ſciences and the arts; were accuſtomed to ſoften the ferocity of war, and to diſarm it in ſome meaſure of its evils, by introducing their milder manners, with the refinements and elegancies of life; with a view, no doubt, to poliſh, to enervate, and to enſlave mankind.

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[1] Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 458. [2] Ibid.

In attentions like theſe to civilize the Britons, and to alleviate their ſufferings, Agricola employed the winters which he paſſed in the iſland; and in the courſe of ſeven ſummer campaigns, he extended his

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[1] Taciti vita Agricola, Op. p. 459.

conqueſts into Caledonia. He likewiſe erected two different lines of fortifications; one of which was formed near the river Tay,[1] and the other along that narrow iſthmus which lies between the Frith of Forth and the Clyde.[2] But Domitian, who hated virtues which he would not emulate, and ſickened at the glory he could not attain, recalled Agricola to Rome; and this great man ſoon A. D. 85.
after died of a lingering diſorder, with the ſuſpicion of having been poiſoned at the inſtigation of that tyrant.[3]

Tacitus, by a few ſtrokes of his inimitable pencil, has given the portrait of this amiable Roman.

During the latter part of the life of Do- A. D. 98.
mitian, and in the ſhort reign of Nerva, the Roman intereſt was neglected in Britain.

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[1] Buchanani. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 101, 102. Camden, Holland's tranſlation, p. 789.

[2] Langhori. Ant. Albion, p. 112, 113.

[3] Taciti vit. Agricolæ. Op. p. 459, 465, 466.

More important objects, on the eaſtern frontier of the empire, employed the martial genius of Trajan.

The wiſe policy of limiting, and of preſerving its boundaries, was the leading principle in the government of Adrian. In the A. D. 120. courſe of his reign, however, he came into Britain; and the more effectually to ſecure, he narrowed the bounds of the Roman conqueſts, ordering the more northern forts to be deſerted which had been raiſed by Agricola, and placing their garriſons on the line of fortifications, which he then formed from the Tyne to Solway Frith.[1]

To preſerve dominion by the influence of a juſt and mild adminiſtration, was well ſuited to the philoſophic ſpirit, and benevolent temper of the two Antonines. But a commotion having ariſen in Caledonia in the reign of

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[1] Buchan. Rer. Scot. lib. IV. p. 103. Spart. vit. Adriani in Scriptoribus Auguſt. p. 6.

Antoninus Pius, he ſent Lollius Urbicus into A. D. 138. Britain, who, after he had ſuppreſſed the inſurrection, confined the Picts to their former boundary.[1]

The diſſolute reign of Commodus having A. D. 183. had an influence on the diſcipline of the legions, the Caledonians broke over the wall of Adrian, and cut in pieces a Roman general with his army; but the inſurgents were A. D. 185. ſoon after driven back with great ſlaughter, and continued quiet during the remainder of that reign.[2]

The precarious ſituation of Pertinax and A. D. 192. of Didius Julianus, who in ſucceſſion poſſeſſed the empire, giving them no leiſure to attend to the affairs of Britain, the natives of that iſland enjoyed a ſeaſon of tranquillity; in which ſtate they remained to the latter end of the reign of Severus.

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[1] Julius Capitolinus in vit. Antonini Pii in Scriptoribus Auguſt. hiſt. p. 19.

[2] Dion Caſſius, lib. LXXII. p. 821.

Under pretence of reſtraining the irrup-
tions of the northern Britons, but probably
to withdraw his ſons from the pleaſures of
A. D. 207. Rome, Severus came into the iſland; and
though advanced in years, and ſo broken
with infirmities as to be carried in a litter,
he proceeded through foreſts and moraſſes to
the fartheſt parts of Caledonia.[1] After hav-
ing ſurmounted the difficulties of the march,
and many fierce encounters with the Picts,
and not being able, himſelf, to finiſh the war,
on account of his increaſing infirmities, he
A. D. 208. left one of his ſons to conclude a peace with
that people; and on his return rebuilt with
ſtone, and more ſtrongly fortified the rampart
A. D. 212. of Adrian. Soon after Severus had finiſhed
this imperial work, he died in the city of
York.[2]

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[1] Herodian, lib. III. p. 133, 135, 137.

[2] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Joannis Roſſ, Antq. Warwic. Hiſt. Reg. Angl. p. 49. Oroſius, lib. VII. cap. XVII. p. 502. Hiſt. Auguſt. Script. Spartian, p. 71.

From the death of this Emperor to the reign of Diocleſian, few incidents occur in the hiſtory of Britain, the Romans having been too much employed by convulſions in their own empire, to attend to the diſtant provinces. In the courſe of this reign Carauſius,[1] and afterwards Allectus,* aſſumed an independent ſovereignty in Britain.[2] But when Conſtantius was elevated to the rank of Cæſar, in that ſingular ſyſtem of government formed by Diocleſian, he reduced the iſland to its former ſtate of a province of the empire.[3] This prince died in the city of York,[4] ſoon after he had ſucceeded to the purple as emperor of the weſt; and during the greateſt part of his reign, he kept the Britons in quiet, by the influence of his mild virtues.[5]

A. D. 284.

A. D. 298.

A. D. 307.

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[1] *Caron.* Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 91, 84. * *Aleth.*

[2] Flores Hiſt. p. 91, 84. [3] J. Roſſi, Ant. War. p. 50.

[4] Called Eboracum by the Romans, Caer Efrog by the Britons, and Euerwyke by the Saxons. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 30.

[5] Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 92, 96, by Math. Weſtminſter.

A. D. 337. The more deciſive qualities of Conſtantine the Great continued to enforce their obedience.

At this period a ſtorm began to gather in the north, which gradually acquiring greater force and a deeper gloom, at length overſpread the Britiſh hemiſphere.

As the dread of the Roman power declined with the retreat of the legions, ſeveral nations, the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxons, made incurſions into Britain. The Picts were natives of the iſland, and inhabited the country near to the wall of Antonine, upon the eaſtern, and weſtern coaſt, and on the mountains of Caledonia.[1] The Scots were a recent colony from Ireland, and had ſettled by invitation of the Picts, upon the weſtern ſhore of Scotland very early in the fourth century.[2] The Saxons, one of the moſt warlike nations in Germany, had emigrated from the northern parts of that country, and had ſettled along the ſea coaſt from Jutland to the mouth of the Rhine.[1]

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[1] Whitaker, ibid. edit. vol. II. p. 209.

[2] Whitaker's Hiſt. Mancheſter, vol. II. p. 248, 249, 250.

The hiſtory of this period is barren of important incidents, and exhibits very little agreeable information: we ſcarcely meet with any thing, but pictures of rude life and manners, or melancholy details of war and devaſtation.

With a policy peculiar to the Romans, they had permitted the kingly office in the full extent of its ancient authority, to remain in many of the provinces of Britain.[2] In the courſe of this period, two princely families had ariſen into pre-eminence, above the reſt of the Britiſh Reguli; appearing in their ancient luſtre on the decline of the Roman power, and attaining to that royal diſtinction which had formerly belonged to their anceſtors.[1] Theſe were the princes of the Cynethian and Cornwall families.[2] The former were ſovereigns of the territory belonging to the Strath-Clyde* Britons, and of the principality of North Wales;† and were deſcended from Coel, a northern prince, who, by his marriage with the heireſs of North Wales, became the ſovereign of that principality.[3] The daughter of this prince ſucceeded to his dominions, and was called Helena, and was afterwards married to the Emperor Conſtantius;[4] who, having gained by that union a natural right to the crown, the Roman government became for a time very popular. In after times, the line of the princeſs Helena becoming extinct in Britain, the ſucceſſion of the Strath-Clyde kingdom, with the principality of North Wales, devolved upon Cynetha* her nephew.[1] The ſons of this prince, leaving their northern territories to the government of the eldeſt branch of their own family, retired to their dominions in North Wales; where their deſcendants ſupported the cauſe of freedom and of nature, until the royal Britiſh blood became extinct as to ſovereignty in the perſon of David the laſt prince of Wales.[2]

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[1] Verſtegan, chap. III. p. 20, 55, 56, 82, 84.

[2] Hiſt. Mancheſter, vol. I. 2d edit. p. 331. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 115.

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[1] Rowland's Mon. An. p. 145, 171. [2] Ibid. p. 171.

* *Yſtrad Clwyd.* † *Gwynedd.*

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 145, 163.

[4] Ran. Higden, lib. XIV. p. 219. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 92. Rowland, p. 161, 162, 163, 166.

The Cornwall family were derived from Bran-ap-Llyr, a duke of that province; who was afterwards choſen the king of Britain.[3] Out of this princely family deſcended the illuſtrious names of Aurelius Ambroſius, Uthur Pendragon, Arthur and Conſtantine; a line of heroes, who ſucceſſively, but with different fortunes, oppoſed the Saxon arms.[4]

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* *Cynedda Wledig*, or the Illuſtrious.

[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 90.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146, 162.

[3] Ibid. 145, 146, 170.

[4] Ibid.

The naval force of the kingdom in the preceding period, during the reigns of Conſtantius and his ſon Conſtantine, had been the object of policy and of regular attention; by which means the coaſts had in general been ſecured from invaſion;[1] but as the Roman intereſt declined, the navy was ſuffered to decay; the Britons having paid no attention to this great object of national ſecurity.

A. D. 364. At this period the Picts, acting in conjunction with the Scots, and the Saxons, invaded the Roman territories in Britain. The diſtraction and miſery cauſed by this invaſion were aſtoniſhingly great: for not confining their ravages to the ſea coaſts, as had hitherto been their cuſtom, they ſpread wide their depredations through the interior parts of the country. They were inſtantly oppoſed by the Count of the Saxon ſhores; but after that officer had done all in his power to withſtand their fury, he bravely fell, where he could not conquer. The next perſon that oppoſed them was the general of the Roman forces; who, having collected ſuch a power as the urgency of the time would allow, marched againſt the enemy; but being drawn into an ambuſcade, this general, likewiſe, experienced the ſame fate. Theſe circumſtances creating alarm, the emperor Valentinian ſent Theodoſius into Britain; A. D. 367. and this officer, uniting military talents with great policy and addreſs, ſoon put an end to the war, and reinſtated the provinces in their former tranquillity.[1] On the return of Theodoſius to Rome, he was attended to the ſea ſhore by the acclamations of a grateful people.[2]

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[1] Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 91. Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. VI. 7. Campbell's Naval Hiſt. Brit. vol. I. p. 26.

This tranquil ſtate of their affairs was ſoon interrupted by the ambition of a popular

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[1] Langhori. Ant. Albion, p. 224.

[2] Appendix Poſt Bœdam, p. 671. Ammianus Marcellin. lib. XXVIII. p. 525.

A. D. 383. individual. For the Britons, engaging in the cauſe of Maximus* on his uſurpation of the empire, rekindled the flames of war, and haſtened their own ruin. This perſon had ſerved a long time in Britain with great military reputation;[1] but the cauſe which of all others had been the means of riveting him in the affections of the natives, and of more cloſely uniting his intereſts with their own, was his marriage with Helena,[2] the daughter of Euda duke of Cornwall,[3] and who was afterwards elected to the ſovereign dignity.[4] In conſequence of which, Maximus[5] drew to his ſtandard the flower of the Britiſh youth; who along with the legionary ſoldiers were tranſported into Gaul.[6] His endeavours were at firſt crowned with ſucceſs, by an advantage he obtained over Gratian, one of the Roman emperors,[1] and by the expulſion of Valentinian the other emperor out of Italy; but his army was afterwards routed by Theodoſius, and he himſelf, with his ſon Flavius, A. D. 388. put to death, after having been, five years, in poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity.[2] Theſe princes fell victims to their ambition; and with them fell likewiſe the hopes, and ſplendid views of the Britons. The remains of this unfortunate army, for want of the means, it is probable, of returning into their own country, ſettled in Armorica.*[3]

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* *Macſen Wledig.*

[1] Zoſimus, lib. IV. p. 248.

[2] Born at Segonte.

[3] Cornwall, called Cerniw by the Britons; by the Saxons Cornwall, or the Welch of Cornavia. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 18.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 90. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 166, 169. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 105.

[5] Zoſimus, lib. IV. p. 248.

[6] Flores Hiſt. p. 106.

A SEASON of weakneſs and miſery enſued; but it was not every part of Britain which had been involved in the general calamity.

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[1] Zoſimus, p. 248. Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. p. 25.

[2] Zoſimus, p. 266, 267.

* *Llydaw*, or along the water. [3] Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. V. p. 41. The name is derived in the Britiſh from Ar-morica, or upon the ſea. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 10.

A. D. 389. On the diſſolution of the Roman power, the Britiſh governments had reverted to thoſe Reguli who were deſcended from the ancient ſovereigns. The moſt eminent of theſe princes, at this period, was Einion Urdd, the ſon of Cynetha; who reſided, like his father, in his northern territories.[1] This prince united in his government the kingdom of the Strath-Clyde Britons, the province of North Wales, and, it is probable, likewiſe, thoſe parts of Cheſhire and Lancaſhire lying upon the Iriſh channel.[2] The union of theſe dominions, under a vigorous adminiſtration, formed a force ſufficiently powerful to repel the invaders, and to keep his own kingdom in general ſecurity as long as it remained unbroken by the cuſtom of Gavel-kind. In the courſe of this reign, however, the Iriſh Scots, under the command of Sirigi,[3] landed on Mona; and having defeated the natives, took poſſeſſion of that iſland.[4] On this invaſion, Einion Urdd ſent his eldeſt ſon *Caſwallon**[1] to the relief of Mona,[2] who ſoon executed his orders, by routing the enemy at Holyhead, where their fleet was depoſited, and ſlaying Sirigi in a perſonal encounter.[3]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183.

[2] Ibid. p. 146.

[3] Or the *Rover*.

[4] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 146.

During the reign of Theodoſius, his juſt and vigorous adminiſtration preſerved in general the public tranquillity. But on the death of that prince, and in the minority of Honorius, a more general and formidable invaſion took place. The Picts, the Iriſh Scots, and the Saxons united their powers, and infeſted the ſouthern coaſts of Britain; they divided into different parties, and ſpread, with infinite fury, over the interior parts of the kingdom. This invaſion, however, was A. D. 393. ſoon checked, and the peace of the iſland eſtabliſhed, under the conduct of Victorinus; an officer who had been ſent into Britain by A. D. 395. Stilico, who had, himſelf, directed, in the mi-

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*[1] *Caſwallon-law-hir*, or the long-handed.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 183. [3] Ibid. p. 146.

nority of his maſter, the concerns of the Roman empire.[1] Among other marks of his attentions to the true intereſt of the iſland, he repaired the navy, which for ſome years preſerved the coaſts from being invaded.[2]

A CALM interval having ſucceeded this ſtormy ſeaſon, an event occurred the moſt important and deciſive; and which gave ſo rude a ſhock to the center of the Roman ſtate, as to convulſe the moſt diſtant parts of that wide and extenſive empire. This was
A. D. 403. the invaſion of Italy by *Alaric* the *Goth.* To ſuſtain the central parts, the legionary troops in the provinces were recalled, and of courſe the greateſt part of thoſe which had been ſtationed in Britain were withdrawn into Italy.[3]

IN deſpair of receiving aſſiſtance from Rome, the Britons themſelves elected ſeveral ſovereigns to take the direction of affairs in ſuch a perilous ſeaſon.[1] The laſt of theſe princes, named Conſtantine, was raiſed to that A. D. 408. dignity on account of the popularity of his name; and though of mean rank, being no more than a common ſoldier, he was a perſon of ſpirit and of enterprize, and poſſeſſed a genius above his condition.[2]

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[1] Claudian de laud. Stilicon. cap. XI. Langhorni. Ant. Alb. p. 237.

[2] Secund. Paneg. de laud. Stilic. p. 516.

[3] Claudian de bello Getico, p. 593.

Elated with his early proſperity, Conſtantine extended his views to the continent; and in order to ſupport his claim to the empire, and to take advantage of the preſent favourable juncture, he paſſed over into Gaul A. D. 409. with an army.[3] Honorius, being obliged to give way to the preſent emergency, agreed to receive him as his aſſociate in the empire;[4] but that prince having concluded a peace with the Goths, oppoſed the pretenſions of Conſtantine, and finally took him priſoner, and put him to death.[1] The remainder of the Britons, who had followed the fortunes of the uſurper, ſettled in Armorica, which at A. D. 410. this time was erected into a kingdom, independent of Rome.[2]

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 92. Zoſimus, p. 371.

[2] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 50.

[3] Ibid. p. 50. Zoſimus, p. 371.

[4] Zoſimus, p. 359.

The Britons, ſtill more expoſed than ever to invaſions, applied to Honorius for aſſiſtance; but that emperor, himſelf ſorely preſſed A. D. 410. by Alaric the Goth, left them to the management of their own affairs, and renounced the ſovereignty of the iſland.[3]

A short gleam of proſperity riſing upon the Romans, in the reign of Valentinian the A. D. 423. third, a legion was ſent into Britain by Ætius, who commanded in Gaul; with no view of making any permanent ſettlement, but only in pity to the immediate diſtreſſes of that country. When this legion had performed the neceſſary ſervice, it was recalled into Italy.[1] Before their departure, the Romans fortified the wall of Severus, and erected towers for obſervation upon the ſea coaſts; they exhorted the Britons to inure themſelves to war; and aſſured them, that on their own virtue and manly exertions, their future ſafety muſt depend.[2]

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[1] Polidore Virgil, p. 350.

[2] Zoſimus, lib. VI. p. 376.

[3] Ibid. 376, 381.

At this period, when the Romans bade a final adieu to Britain, the country lay expoſed to the inroads of numerous enemies, after its native ſtrength had been exhauſted in ſupport of foreign wars, its numbers farther waſted by famine and peſtilence,[3] and its navy, that natural bulwark of its ſafety, had fallen into decay:[4] and, under all theſe external diſadvantages, the people, too, were in want of that union ſo neceſſary in times of emergency; and the Britiſh princes themſelves, inſtead of uniting to oppoſe the common danger, by concerted plans of operation, were only anxious to ſecure their ſeparate intereſts.[1]

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[1] Zoſimus, lib. VI. p. 376.

[2] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50. Gildas, p. 5. Gale's Scriptores.

[3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 115, 116. Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Gildas, p. 7.

[4] Berkley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 43.

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[1] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK II.

CONTAINING A REVIEW OF THE BRITISH HISTORY FROM THE FINAL RETREAT OF THE ROMANS, TO THAT PERIOD WHEN THE ANCIENT BRITONS WERE DRIVEN INTO WALES, CORNWALL, AND ARMORICA.

IN a ſtate of weakneſs and confuſion the Britons recovered their liberty, after having, in ſome degree, been dependant on the Roman empire four hundred and eighty years, from the firſt invaſion under Julius Cæſar.[1] But they were no longer that rough, brave, or virtuous people which the Romans found them; A. D. 430.

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[1] Selden Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

they might be poliſhed, it is true, by the Roman arts, but theſe had left them without valour or public ſpirit, enervated, indolent, and dejected. They in general were elated at the *idea* of being free; but their minds were too much debaſed, to form juſt conceptions of freedom, or to enjoy for the preſent, or render permanent the full benefit of its invaluable fruits.

Amidst the confuſion natural in ſuch a ſituation, it is ſaid, that the Britons were ſtruck with a ſenſe of their true intereſts, and that they determined to eſtabliſh a powerful navy, as the moſt ſolid means of ſecuring the public tranquillity. This ſalutary meaſure, though undertaken at firſt with alacrity, was never carried into execution: the deſign, it is probable, might in ſome meaſure fail, through the natural levity of a people, unacquainted with buſineſs, averſe to labour, and unaccuſtomed to great attempts.[1]

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[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 43, 44.

The ſudden attack made by the Picts on the wall of Severus, allowed them, it is true, but little leiſure to engage in naval deſigns; and thoſe Britons, who defended the forts upon the wall, unacquainted with this kind of war, and not poſſeſſing the cool intrepidity neceſſary in ſuch a ſituation, abandoned their ſtations; and, forſaking that part of the country, retreated to the ſouth. Inſtead of the ſpoils, which had hitherto been the object of their inroads, the Picts determined to ſettle upon the territories which had been lately abandoned:[1] but this dangerous deſign was ſuſpended, for the preſent, by a peace concluded with the Britons; that wretched people having purchaſed a temporary quiet for a conſiderable ſum of money. By this treaty, the wall of Severus was to be the boundary between the two nations. The peace was however of no long duration, for the means which were employed to procure it were naturally the cauſe of its infraction;[1] and a war enſued more deſtructive in its conſequence, than any in which the Britons had been engaged. In one battle alone they ſuſtained the loſs of fourteen thouſand men; an irreparable injury in their weak ſituation. Reduced to extremity, they ſolicited peace of their conquerors,[2] and obtained one indeed, but upon very mortifying terms; for by the new treaty they were obliged to yield up the country which lies to the north of the Humber, and on which territory the Picts immediately made ſettlements.[3]

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[1] Bede's Eccleſiaſtic. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XII. p. 50.

A. D. 438.

The Britons being thus deſpoiled of a great part of their territories, and ſenſible that every reſiſtance of their own was vain, applied to the king of Armorica for aſſiſtance; who ſent his brother Conſtantine, with a body of troops, into the iſland.[4] That prince having defeated the enemy, was promoted, in a public council, to the Britiſh throne.[a] But this A. D. 443. ſupply only afforded the Britons an occaſional relief; and ſtill preſſed by the increaſing power of their enemies, they had recourſe for the laſt time to the Romans, and ſupplicated aid from Ætius the *Præfect* of Gaul; who, with great valour, and a tranſient ſucceſs, had ſuſpended for ſome time the deſtiny of Rome. The Britiſh deputies carried to him the following letter of their countrymen, written in a ſtrain of diſhonourable lamentation:

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[1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 24, 25. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

[4] Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. VI. p. 43.

"To Ætius, thrice conſul, the groans of
"the Britons. We know not which way
"to turn us. The *Barbarians* drive us to
"the ſea, and the ſea forces us back to the
"*Barbarians*; between which we have only
"the choice of two deaths, either to be

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[a] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 171. Engliſh tranſlation. Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV, p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. Weſt. Flores Hiſt. p. 212.

“ ſwallowed up by the waves, or butchered
“ by the ſword.”[1]

But Ætius, at this time engaged in oppoſing the formidable Attilla, was not in a ſituation to afford them relief.[2]

Dejected with this repulſe, and ſtill harraſſed by the inroads of the Picts and Iriſh Scots, the Britons were at length reduced to deſpair; deſerted their habitations, abandoned tillage, and relinquiſhing the habits of ſocial life, retreated to the woods and mountains; in which ſolitary wilds they gained a precarious ſubſiſtence by hunting.[3] To add another evil to their ſufferings, a famine enſued, owing to inceſſant devaſtation and the neglect of cultivating their land.[4] To avoid this complicated miſery, numbers of the Britons yielded themſelves up to the mercy of their enemies: others more brave, continued to oppoſe them from the places of their retreat; and the miſerable remainder, indulging the laſt effort of deſpair, fell to injure and deſpoil one another.[1]

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[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIII. p. 51. Gildas, cap. XVII. Girald. Cambrenſis, lib. VI. p. 42.

[2] Bede, ibid. [3] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 116.

[4] Gildas, p. 6.

The invaders themſelves, unacquainted with the arts of agriculture, and perpetually harraſſed by the ſudden incurſions of the Britons, began to feel the preſſure of that famine which they had occaſioned; and were obliged to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, and retire into their own country.[2] During this interval of peace, the Britons returned to their habitations, and to their uſual employments in huſbandry. Favourable ſeaſons having ſeconded their labours, an aſtoniſhing plenty enſued; when, forgetful of their paſt misfortunes, and improvident for the future, they are ſaid to have fallen into luxury, and into vices of every kind, the moſt atrocious; a circumſtance, which not only marks the manners of the age, but alſo proves them to be unworthy of that freedom they had lately recovered.[1]

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[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51.

[2] Gildas, cap. XVII.

There is a point of depreſſion as well as of exaltation, as has been obſerved by an acute philoſophic ſpirit,* which in general limits the progreſs of human affairs; and from which they uſually return, either by a ſlow or a rapid movement, to the oppoſite extreme. Though reduced to the loweſt ſtate of weakneſs and miſery, the Britons, rouſed by the virtue of ſucceeding princes, recovered their native ſpirit; and, riſing again into freedom and importance, aſſerted for many ages the rights of injured humanity.

A. D. 443. About this period, Caſwallon, the prince of Cumbria, made choice of Mona[2] for his reſidence; and being the eldeſt branch of the *Cynethian family*, he had of courſe a pre-eminence in dignity; the other Cambrian princes paying him homage and obedience as their ſuperior lord.[1] From this æra we may fix the date of a diſtinct ſovereignty in North Wales.

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[1] Bede, cap. XVII.

* Mr. Hume.

[2] The ruins of his palace were to be ſeen near Llan Elian in the Rev. Mr. Rowland's time.

Among the various evils accumulated upon the Britons, we may alſo add the miſeries of religious diſſenſion. It is equally deplorable as it is ſtrange, that the Chriſtian religion, ſo well adapted to ſoften and to meliorate the human heart, ſhould, by a fatal perverſion, be made the means of deſtroying the mildneſs of its ſpirit, and of injuring its purity; by calling into action the malignant and angry paſſions, and by confining the natural freedom of the mind, within the narrow limits preſcribed to it by prejudice and the pride of opinion. The hereſy of the Pelagians had, at this time, ſpread in the Chriſtian church; and the diſputes which it produced were carried on with much animoſity and rancour; evils, which have always ariſen from the paſſions whenever they mingle in theological controverſy.[1]

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[1] Rowland, p. 146, 147, 148.

To remedy theſe evils, and to reduce to one ſtandard religious opinions, the Britiſh clergy applied for aſſiſtance to a Gallican A. D. 447. council; which deputed St. Germain, attended by another biſhop of the name of Lupus, upon that miſſion.[2] The former prelate, who was a man of learning and piety, and ſeems to have poſſeſſed a ſolid and extenſive genius, having for the preſent given a check to the Pelagian innovations, fixed his reſidence in Cambria; where, it is probable, that at this early period, many of its inhabitants ſtill remained in ignorance, and had ſcarcely any knowledge of chriſtianity.[1]

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[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 114.

[2] Ibid. Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XVII. p. 54. Ran. Higden's Polychron. lib. V. p. 223.

During the converſion of the Britons in Cambria, and while St. Germain was introducing learning with ſome degree of order into the church, the Saxons joined in confederacy with the Picts, and invaded that part of the country. At this juncture, many Britons were aſſembled to be inſtructed by St. Germain in the principles of chriſtianity, and to receive baptiſm at his hands on the feſtival of Eaſter. Supported by this multitude, who were fired with religious enthuſiaſm, St. Germain calmly waited the approach of the enemy, at a place called *Maes-Garmon*, near Mold in Flintſhire; and at the moment, when the Saxons were ruſhing to the attack, he ordered the Britons to call aloud, three times, *Allelujah*. The ſound having increaſed by the reverberation of the adjacent mountains, threw the Saxons into ſo great a panic, that they were ſoon routed.[1] We eaſily conceive that a ſuperſtitious people, would impute this ſingular victory to the extraordinary interpoſition of the Almighty; and that they eſteemed their leader, like Gideon, to be armed with celeſtial power. But the mind, at the preſent period, not ſeeing objects through the medium of either ſuperſtition or enthuſiaſm, will conclude this event to have ariſen out of natural cauſes, always under the direction of Divine Providence. The Saxons, it is poſſible, from the nature of the outcry, might ſuſpect an ambuſh, or that the number of the Britons was increaſed: beſides, the mind of man, in an uncultivated ſtate, is liable to fears the moſt ſudden, abſurd, and contagious. Having thus preſerved the public tranquillity from foreign enemies, and by civil and religious regulations having ſecured in ſome meaſure the peace of the country, St. Germain attempted before his departure to eſtabliſh a naval force; aſſuring the Britons, that it muſt be upon their fleets alone they could rationally depend for their future ſecurity.[1]

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[1] Conſtantius' Life of St. Germain.

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[1] Bede's Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XX. p. 57. Langhorni Ant. Albionenſes, p. 259.

Constantine, the king of Britain, was, at this time, murdered by the treachery of a Pict, while he was engaged in the pleaſures of the chace. His ſon Conſtans, though a monk, was raiſed to the throne, through the A. D. 448. machinations of Vortigern* his couſin; in hopes of directing the government of a prince, who, having been bred in the receſſes of a cloiſter, was of courſe uninſtructed in the management of public affairs, and in the laws of his kingdom.[2] There was ſomething bold in the genius of Vortigern. He poſſeſſed qualities which uſually decide in great and turbulent ſcenes; but he was led by them into a ſeries of crimes, which have marked his life with misfortune, and his character with infamy.

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[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Britain, p. 44.

* *Gwrthcyrn Gwrthenau*, lord of *Gwent Erging* and *Euas* in South Wales. L. Morris.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 173. Rowland, p. 169, 184. Ranulph. Higden, lib. IV. p. 219. Gale's Script. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 113.

As ſoon as Vortigern had taken the reins of government into his hands, he diſdained to act a ſecondary part in its affairs; but, allured by the proſpect of the crown, he determined to reach that point of his ambition by the murder of his ſovereign.[r] In purſuance of this deſign, the king's guards, who had been recommended by Vortigern himſelf, and were inſtigated by rewards and his artful ſuggeſtions, entered the prince's bed chamber; and having cut off his head, carried it bleeding to the regent. Vortigern, however delighted with the ſpectacle, feigned the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror, wept over the ghaſtly viſage, and by a maſter-ſtroke of policy, as if affected with honeſt indignation, commanded the heads of the aſſaſſins to be ſtruck off.[1] The ſingular addreſs of Vortigern, in the conduct of this affair, might cauſe the death of Conſtans, in ſome degree, to remain inveloped in uncertainty and darkneſs. It removed however the obſtacle to his ambition, and he immediately aſcended the throne;[2] but whether by his own uſurpation, or that he was called to the vacant dignity by the voice of the Britiſh ſtates, is a point which remains undecided.

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[r] Jo. Roſs. Ant. Warw. p. 55. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 113.

A. D. 448.

Here let us pauſe a moment over an *epoch* diſtinguiſhed in the Britiſh annals, when the Saxons were invited into Britain to be the guardians of its ſafety, and point out the probable cauſes of a meaſure ſo deluſive, and fatal. The rapid changes of ſeveral princes from the ſceptre to the grave, had ſhewn the precarious tenure under which the Britiſh ſovereigns had held their power. The fear, likewiſe, of falling a ſacrifice to the juſtice of his country, might be a powerful motive with Vortigern, to unite his cauſe with the ambitious views of the Saxons; whoſe number and valour might protect him from danger, and ſupport their mutual intereſts. Superadded to theſe motives of a perſonal nature, the public ſafety, at this time threatened with an invaſion of the Picts and Scots, ſerved Vortigern as a plauſible pretext to convene the ſtates of the kingdom, and to propoſe in that aſſembly the neceſſity of ſuch an alliance.[1] Nothing could ſo ſtrongly mark the fear and diſtraction which, at this time, influenced the general council, as adopting ſo haſtily a meaſure, repugnant to every principle of ſound policy. The ſucceeding hiſtory of the Saxon wars, replete with human miſery, and the ruin of the Britiſh empire, the effect of this day's counſels, are melancholy leſſons to mankind; that a people, who have not themſelves the virtue to defend their country, are not likely by adventitious aid to preſerve its freedom.

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[1] Polychronicon, lib. IV. p. 221. in Gale's Scriptores. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 178. Evan's Mirrour of paſt Ages, in Welſh, p. 95.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

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[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 51, 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſtoriarum, p. 115. Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit.

A WEAK credulity, and a temper haſty and impetuous, were the leading qualities of the Britons; which frequently excited them to reſolutions the moſt precipitate and ill founded. Theſe defects, which have been ruinous to their liberties in every period of their annals, laid them open to the machinations and intereſted views of this crafty uſurper; and it was an eaſy matter for Vortigern, by ſounding the alarm of danger, to obtain the conſent of the Britiſh ſtates, that deputies ſhould be immediately diſpatched to ſolicit aid of the Saxons.[1] Some nobler ſpirits, endued with greater ſtrength of diſcernment, ſaw the fatal tendency of the meaſure, and exerted their utmoſt efforts to oppoſe the current of this general infatuation. But the evil genius of Britain prevailed, and deputies were ſent to the Saxons, to ſolicit their aſſiſtance againſt the common enemy, the Picts and the Scots.[1]

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[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XIV. p. 52. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55.

The various tribes of the Saxons,[2] at this period, were governed in the ſame manner as the Celtic nations. An aſſembly, compoſed of twelve of the moſt eminent chieftains, formed the great council of the nation, and during peace directed the public adminiſtration; but in times of war, one perſon of this body, pre-eminent in valour and other talents for command, was choſen by the common ſuffrages to take upon him the conduct of the ſtate.[3] At this period,

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[1] Evan's Mirrour of paſt Ages, written in Welſh.

[2] So called from uſing military weapons that were in the ſhape of a *ſcythe*, and called in their language *ſeaxt*. Verſtegan, chap. I. p. 21, 22.

[3] Verſtegan, chap. III. p. 62.

Hengiſt and Horſa were princes of great diſtinction. They were the deſcendants of Woden,[1] the founder of the nation, and regarded by the Saxons as the deity who preſided in war,[2] agreeably to the cuſtom of the early ages, of paying divine honours to any diſtinguiſhed individual, who had been the inſtrument of glory or of utility to his country.

When the Britiſh deputies appeared before the aſſembly of the Saxon ſtates, they opened the nature of their commiſſion, and ſolicited aſſiſtance.[3] Struck with this favourable opportunity of diſplaying their valour, and of gratifying their avidity, and probably diſcerning the conſequent advantages, the Saxons agreed to ſend the Britons immediate aid; and a large body of troops was embarked under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa.[1] The former of theſe warriors, by his valour and abilities, was every way qualified to ſupport the expectations of his country. On the character of Horſa, hiſtory is ſilent; except that, along with his brother, he had ſerved in the Roman armies under Valentinian the third.[2]

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[1] From Woden is derived Wedneſday, being the day dedicated to the honour of that Saxon deity. Friday likewiſe is derived from the Saxon goddeſs Fria, being the day dedicated to her worſhip; and in the ſame manner, every other day in the week, has taken its derivation from the Saxon deities. See Verſtegan, cap. III. p. 69—77. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Samme's Britiſh Ant. 352.

[2] Ran. Higden Polychron. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 222.

[3] Gildas, p. 7.

When the deputies returned into Britain, and reported the ſucceſs of their embaſſy, there was great rejoicing in the court of A. D. 449. Vortigern.[3] Soon after their arrival, the Saxon auxiliaries landed at Ebsfleete in the iſland of Thanet; the place which, by previous agreement, was allotted for their reſidence.[1] Under the influence of thoſe fears which ever agitate guilty minds, it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the arrival of his new allies, would be a matter of pleaſure and comfort to the Britiſh king.[2] To ſhew them greater honour, he repaired in perſon to meet the Saxons, and waited their landing on the ſea ſhore; he there received them with extraordinary careſſes, entertained them with feaſts ſeveral days; and after he had ſettled their ſtipulated pay, to avoid the cauſes of future diſcontents, he led them againſt the Picts and Scots,[3] who at this time had penetrated as far as Stamford.[4] That they might give an early impreſſion of their valour, Hengiſt placed the Saxons in the front, as the ſtation of danger; and the Britons formed the rear of the army. In this ſituation, they waited the attack of the enemy; who began the aſſault, as was uſually their cuſtom, by a diſcharge of lances and darts; which made no impreſſion upon the Saxons, who were accuſtomed to fight in a cloſer order, with long ſwords and battle axes. At length, after an engagement obſtinately diſputed and bloody, the Picts and Scots were entirely defeated.[1] By this victory the Saxon princes obtained a high reputation for valour and military conduct.[2] A few ſubſequent efforts, which were always unproſperous, obliged the Picts and Scots to relinquiſh their conqueſts, and to retreat into their own country. If, upon this fortunate turn in their affairs, the Britons had united under a ſovereign of ability and virtue, had enforced the immediate departure of the Saxons, at a time when they were few in number, and had alſo eſtabliſhed a naval force;

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[1] Gildas, cap. XXIII. p. 7. Gale's edit. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

[2] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 118.

[3] Evan's Mirrour, in Welſh, p. 98.

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[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 117. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. by Gibſon, p. 12.

[2] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 13. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

[4] Gale's Script. Ranulph Higden Polychron. lib. V. p. 222.

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[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Gale's Scriptores, ibid.

[2] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 122.

they might have preſerved the public tranquillity, and have ſecured, for a time at leaſt, the national independence.

Instead of theſe deciſive and politic meaſures, a ruinous and irreparable one enſued. For Hengiſt, whoſe penetrating mind had ſeen into the deſigns, and critical ſituation of Vortigern; who had obſerved the luxury, the negligence, and effeminacy of the Britons; and had noticed the richneſs of their country compared with his own; began at this time to extend his views towards a permanent ſettlement in it. With this deſign, he invited a freſh body of his countrymen to aſſiſt in the enterprize, and to partake in the fruits of the conqueſts which he meditated.[1] He likewiſe repreſented to the king the neceſſity of being poſſeſſed of ſome fortified place, as a ſecurity for his troops, and as a repoſitory of their ſpoils; and accordingly deſired that he might erect ſuch a fortreſs. The requeſt of Hengiſt was at firſt refuſed by Vortigern, through fear that it might excite a jealouſy among the Britons; however, at length he accompliſhed his deſign, by means of an artifice, which if it be true, marked the exceeding ſimplicity of the times.[1]

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[1] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122.

Latter End of A. D. 450.

INDUCED by the flattering deſcription which Hengiſt had given of Britain, a large body of Saxons came over;[2] and among theſe was the daughter of that prince, the beautiful Rowenna.[3] The arrival of theſe troops was ſeen with a jealous eye by many of the Britons, who were juſtly alarmed at the conſequences of introducing into the country ſo great a number of foreigners.[1] But Vortigern, the preſiding demon in the fate of Britain, and whoſe ſecret machinations, it is probable, had introduced this reinforcement, either deſpiſed the remonſtrance of his ſubjects,[2] or had the addreſs to ſilence their fears; and to perſuade them of the neceſſity of ſuch a meaſure, on the plauſible pretext that the firſt body of Saxons, from their late loſſes, would be inſufficient to protect them from their enemies.[3]

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[1] Fabian, p. 71. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 185. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 122. Hengiſt only deſired of Vortigern as much land as the hide of an ox would ſurround. This requeſt being agreed to, the artful Saxon (it is ſaid) cut the hide into ſmall thongs, with which he encompaſſed a ſpace of ground ſufficient to erect a fort.

[2] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 52.

[3] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 55. Wm. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9.

The intercourſe ſubſiſting between Hengiſt and the Britiſh king, had given him the opportunity of obſerving the conſtitutional character of that monarch; and on this baſis he hoped to form an alliance, which ſhould ſerve as a cement to their common intereſts, and ſhould give ſolidity to his own future deſigns. Having frequently acknowledged his obligations to Vortigern, he requeſted the honour of his company to a feaſt, at the caſtle he had lately erected; that by every entertainment in his power, he might expreſs his reſpect and gratitude.[1] Vortigern accepted the invitation to a *ſupper*, and the carouſal was highly magnificent. In the height of their feſtivity, when the wine had circulated, and the mind was open to no other impreſſion than pleaſure; the fair Rowenna appeared in the hall, magnificently dreſt, and holding a gold cup in her hand which was full of wine. Having gracefully preſented herſelf upon one knee before the king, ſhe thus addreſſed him in her own language, "*Waes heal hlaford* "*Cyning*, or, Be of health lord king." Agreeably ſurpriſed with the ſudden appearance of a beautiful lady kneeling before him, the king demanded of his chamberlain, who was the interpreter, the nature of her ſuit.[2] He was informed, that the princeſs Rowenna accoſted him after the manner of her country; where it was uſual at carouſals, for any one who ſhall drink to another, to cry *waſheil*; the perſon to whom he thus ſpeaks ſhall anſwer, *Drynk-heil*; then he who firſt cried *waſheil*, drinks, and preſents him with the cup. While the interpreter was explaining to Vortigern the nature of this gothic feſtivity, that prince ſmiled upon Rowenna, and ſaid to her in the Saxon language, " *Drynk heil*, " or *drink the health*."[1] Upon this the princeſs drank a little out of the cup, and preſented it gracefully to the king, who then, agreeably to the cuſtom, gave her a ſalute. She immediately retired, with the profoundeſt reſpect, out of the king's preſence.[2] The uncommon beauty of the Saxon princeſs, the gracefulneſs of her manners, and the touching ſingularity of the action, impreſſed upon him when he was heated with wine, entirely faſcinated the ſoul of Vortigern; and left no traces of any other impreſſions in his mind, than thoſe of love and deſire. To increaſe ſtill more this amorous frenzy, many impediments were artfully thrown by Hengiſt in the way of his paſſion.[1] But the infatuated monarch, inflamed with deſire, diſregarded every obſtacle, which the dictates of honour, prudence, and religion had oppoſed to his wiſhes. He removed the chief impediment by divorcing his wife, who had borne him three ſons;[2] and having married the Saxon princeſs, he inveſted Hengiſt with the ſovereignty of Kent, violently wreſting that territory from its original proprietor; he likewiſe put him in poſſeſſion of the three counties of Eſſex, Suffolk and Middleſex,[3]

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 118. [2] Ibid.
[3] Evan's Mirrour, p. 99.

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[1] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 9. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 126.

[2] Jo. Roſs. Ant. Warw. Hiſt. Reg. Angl, p. 56. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127.

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[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127.

[2] Fabian, p. 72. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 187.

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[1] William Malmſbury, p. 9.

[2] Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 56. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 127. Warton's Engliſh Poetry, from Geoff. Monmouth.

[3] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9.

The marriage of Vortigern, ſo oppoſite to the ideas of a ſuperſtitious age; his late munificence to Hengiſt, ſo contrary to juſtice, with his open partiality for the Saxons, had ſpread in every place indignation and alarm.[1] But while the Britons employed themſelves only in complaints and unavailing diſcontent, the politic Hengiſt, ſenſible that guilt had made the king ſubſervient, and of conſequence a dupe, to his deſigns; induced him to give his conſent for a further reinforcement of Saxons.[2] And to promote this deſign, he infuſed into his mind the danger of his ſituation, from the revolt of his ſubjects univerſally diſaffected; and from the probable deſign of Ambroſius,[3] of aſſerting his right to the crown, and of revenging the murder of his brother Conſtans.[4] In conſequence of this, a large body of Saxons arrived

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[1] Matth. Weſt. p. 117. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 59. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 128. [2] Fabian, p. 72.

[3] *Emrys Wledig*. The ſon of the Britiſh king Conſtantine, who, after his brother's death, retired into Armorica for protection. [4] Matth. Weſt. p. 117.

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A. D. 452. under the command of Abiſa, the brother of Hengiſt, and of his ſon Octa.[1] Theſe leaders landed in the iſlands of the Orcades; and having ſubdued them, and obliged the Picts to evacuate the Northumbrian territory, they ſettled in the country which had been abandoned.[2] The Saxons, at firſt, only occupied the lands upon the eaſtern ſhore, which lie to the north of the Tyne; they afterwards advanced by ſlow degrees to the ſouth, and diſpoſſeſſed the Britons of the country as far as the Humber.[3]

A FRIENDSHIP cemented by principles ſo intereſted and baſe, as thoſe which ſubſiſted in the minds of Hengiſt and Vortigern, muſt be of neceſſity precarious; and was not likely to be of longer duration than the motives which formed the alliance. On the acceſſion of ſtrength which he received by the arrival of ſo conſiderable a force, Hengiſt immediately threw off the maſk. He no longer paid any reſpect to the perſon of Vortigern, and under the pretence of keeping up the number of his forces, he continually increaſed them by freſh[1] ſupplies which were ſent him from the continent; without the knowledge, and even without deigning to aſk the permiſſion, of the king. When the firſt body of Saxons came into Britain, they had a ſtipulated pay allowed them;[2] which, it is probable, conſiſted both of money and proviſions; beſide the iſland of Thanet, which was allotted for their reſidence.[3] The firſt condition not having been duly performed,[4] or perhaps under that pretext, Hengiſt at this time demanded the pay or proviſions for the whole number of Saxons in his army; and inſolently threatened, in caſe of refuſal, that they would do themſelves juſtice by the force of arms. This demand, however oppreſſive, was inſtantly complied with, to take from the Saxons every plauſible ground of contention. Still riſing in their demands from the late conceſſion, their hoſtile deſigns appeared without diſguiſe, and were diſcovered to be of the moſt dangerous tendency.[1] In this moment of danger, when the Britons ſeemed deſtitute of every manly and virtuous exertion, they ſuddenly roſe into a degree of wiſdom and public ſpirit, which, for a time, gave a fortunate turn to their affairs.

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[1] W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. Saxon Chron. p. 12. Nennius, cap. XXXVII. Bertram's edition.

[2] W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Nennius, cap. XXXVII.

[3] Rapin, vol. I. p. 32.

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[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. [2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 116.

[3] W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9.

[4] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 128.

The folly and the crimes of Vortigern had rendered him the object of univerſal deteſtation. In conſequence of which, he was depoſed from the throne by a general aſſembly of the Britiſh ſtates, and the crown was given to his eldeſt ſon Vortimer.[2] A. D. 464.

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[1] Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128.

[2] *Gwrthefyr Fendigaid.* Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 128. Fabian's Chron. p. 73. Matth. Weſtm. p. 118.

The talents of this prince, exerciſed in a vigorous oppoſition to the Saxons, fully juſtified the choice of his country. The firſt meaſures of his reign were prudent and deciſive. He propoſed to the Saxons, that they might retire unmoleſted out of Britain; he ſeparated his own ſhips from theirs; and having protected his fleet with a large body of his troops, he poſted the remainder of his army in a ſtrong ſituation.[1] Alarmed at this formidable appearance and ſpirited activity of Vortimer, the Saxons applied to the Picts and Scots to join in alliance againſt the common enemy.[2] Theſe people readily agreed to the invitation; and with the Saxons already ſtationed in thoſe parts, formed a conſiderable force in the north. In the mean time, that a junction might not be formed of the two armies, Vortimer ſuddenly attacked the Saxons on their own ground in Kent, under the command of Hengiſt and Horſa. This battle was fought at Ailsford; and diſputed with great obſtinacy, but was at length decided in favour of the Britons.[1] Amidſt the ſlaughter of the day, Horſa, and Cartigern* the younger brother of Vortimer, fell by each other's ſword.[2] The Britons, little accuſtomed to the ſmiles of fortune, were animated by this victory to purſue their ſucceſs; and in ſeveral battles which followed, they ſeem in general to have had the advantage.[3] The laſt action is ſaid to have been ſo deciſive, that the Saxons were forced to retreat into the iſland of Thanet.[4] The ſame good fortune, likewiſe, favoured their arms in the north, againſt the combined forces of the Picts, and the Saxons under Octa.[5] Diſpirited by ſo many defeats upon land, Hengiſt, changing his plan of operation, determined that the diſpute ſhould be decided at ſea; and as ſoon as his ſhips were manned with the choiceſt of his ſoldiers, he ſailed in purſuit of the Britiſh fleet. Vortimer, equal to every emergency, and whoſe activity and valour had infuſed a ſpirit into his ſoldiers, was prepared to receive him, though inferior to the Saxon prince in the number and ſize of his veſſels. In this action, contending for the fate of Britain on its proper element, Vortimer gained the advantage, took ſeveral of the enemy's ſhips, and entirely diſperſed their fleet.[1] Purſuing his good fortune, he renewed his attacks upon land, and drove the Saxons into the iſland of Thanet; and at length obliged Hengiſt with his troops, who on this occaſion deſerted their women and children, to retire into Germany, in order to procure farther ſupplies.[2] After this event, the Britiſh prince collected his fleet, which had been diſperſed in the late action; and his army was ſoon reinforced by numbers who crouded to his ſtandard on account of his brilliant ſucceſs.[1]

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[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 49.

[2] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53. Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 57. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222.

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 119. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129.

* *Cyndeyrn.*

[2] Fabian, p. 75.

[3] Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores.

[4] Fabian, p. 76. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129.

[5] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Eng. p. 49.

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[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Eng. p. 49.

[2] Grafton's Chr. p. 89. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. Matth. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 119.

The proſperity, which had juſt begun to dawn upon Britain, was ſoon clouded by the reſentment and ambition of a woman. Since the diſgrace of Vortigern, that monarch had been impriſoned in the city of Cheſter;* and during his confinement had behaved with general propriety, having given his ſon wiſe and faithful counſels, and having paid him a reſpectful obedience. This decent or politic conduct, and the recollection of the great qualities which he really poſſeſſed, or perhaps the natural fickleneſs of the people, formed a party in his favour, and drew him out of that general odium in which he had been for ſome time immerſed.[2]

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[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 49.

* *Caer Lleon ar Ddyfrdwy.*

[2] Fabian, p. 76.

In this ſtate of affairs, Rowenna, incited by revenge, and anxious to regain the dignity ſhe had loſt, meditated the murder of Vortimer. For this purpoſe, ſhe engaged in her ſervice by the promiſes of a great reward a young man, who, diſguiſed in the habit of a gardener, it is ſaid, appeared before the king one morning, while taking the air in his garden; and preſented him with a noſegay of flowers, which was ſprinkled with poiſon.[1] As ſoon as the king was ſenſible of its effects, and that his death was inevitable, he called into his preſence the Britiſh nobility; exhorted them to a manly defence of their country; and required, that after his death they ſhould erect a ſepulchre on the ſea ſhore, and fix it in the port where the Saxons uſually landed;[2] deluded by the vain imagination, that the image and relics of a dead warrior, would infuſe the ſame terror, which he himſelf had inſpired when alive. The Britiſh nobles, however, not adopting the idle deluſion of their maſter, or, what is more probable, negligent of his commands, in- A. D. 468. terred him in London.*[1]

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[1] Evan's Mirrour, p. 106, from an old Manuſcript. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 129. Fabian, p. 76. Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Flores Hiſtoriarum. Theſe writers all agree that he was poiſoned.

[2] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 192.

The levity, which we have frequently noticed as a natural defect in the Britiſh character, appears at this juncture to have influenced the national council. For in that aſſembly, by an unaccountable caprice, Vortigern was re-elected to the ſovereign dignity;[2] the ſame man who a few years before had been ſolemnly depoſed from the throne, as a traitor to his country.

Thus far the machinations of Rowenna had ſucceeded to her wiſhes. She had at length attained to her former grandeur by wading through the blood of her ſon-in-law; and what is but too probable, with the connivance of her infatuated huſband. For this prince, at the inſtigation of his wife, ſent intelligence of the late events into Germany, and deſired that Hengiſt her father would come into Britain, privately, and with a ſmall train; leſt, if he came over with a larger force, he ſhould be oppoſed by the united power of the Britons.[1] When Hengiſt acquainted his followers with this intelligence, and propoſed to them the conqueſt of Britain, they expreſſed great reluctance to the enterprize, on account of its uncertainty and danger; as they had found by experience, that the Britons were brave when properly rouſed and led into action. Hengiſt had the addreſs to remove theſe impreſſions, and to raiſe the hopes of his countrymen; by telling them, that though the Britons were brave, they were nevertheleſs inferior to themſelves in policy, and in the ſtratagems of war.[1]

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* *Caer Ludd.* [1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 192.

[2] Fabian, p. 76. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 193. Gale's Script. Polychron. R. Higden, p. 222. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 229.

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120.

Thus allured by the flattering aſſurances of Hengiſt, four thouſand Saxons embarked under his command.[2] When the Saxons approached the Britiſh coaſt, they found that the inhabitants, under the command of Vortigern, appeared fully determined to oppoſe their landing.[3] Intelligence of this being privately ſent by Rowenna to her father, the Saxon prince had recourſe to an expedient ſuggeſted by his wily and fertile imagination; as well as from a knowledge of the people, with whom he had to act. In this artifice, the weakneſs or the treachery of Vortigern was employed. Hengiſt ſent to aſſure that monarch, that his purpoſe in coming into Britain was not to offer any violence to the kingdom; but only to make a vigorous oppoſition againſt his ſon Vortimer, whom he artfully pretended to believe was yet alive.[1] It was likewiſe propoſed by Hengiſt, that an interview ſhould take place between them, and that each of the princes ſhould meet at the place appointed, attended by the moſt eminent of his train;[2] and in order to baniſh every idea of hoſtile intention, it was artfully ſuggeſted by the Saxon chief, that both parties ſhould appear without their arms. The propoſal was agreed to by the king; the time of meeting was fixed for the May following; and the place appointed for the interview was probably at Stone-henge* upon Saliſbury plains.[3]

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[1] Evan's Mirrour, p. 107.

[2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 129.

[3] Ibid. p. 120. Ibid. p. 130.

In the mean time, Hengiſt, having aſſembled the leaders in his army, laid open to them his deſign;[4] that under the colour of meeting the Britons for the purpoſes of peace, and of eſtabliſhing a laſting alliance, he intended to maſſacre thoſe chieftains who ſhould attend Vortigern to the interview;[1] that by ſtriking ſo deciſive a blow, he might cut the ſinews of future reſiſtance. At the ſame time he gave orders, that his train who attended the carouſal, ſhould carry knives concealed in their ſleeves; that when the ſignal was given, each of them ſhould inſtantly ſtab the perſon who ſat upon his left hand;[2] and he cloſed this infernal command by requiring them to "behave like men, and to ſhew no mercy[3] to any perſon but to the king."

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[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120. [2] Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 130.

* *Caer Gawr.*

[3] *Maes Mawr.* Matt. Weſtm. p. 130. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130. [4] Evan's Mirrour, p. 109.

Notwithstanding the many proofs which the Saxons had given of their perfidy, the Britons, with a degree of credulity peculiar to themſelves, fell into the ſnare, and came unarmed to the place appointed for

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[1] Fabian, p. 77.
[2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 120.
[3] Fabian, p. 77.

the interview;[1] where, by the contrivance of Hengiſt, they were placed with his train alternately at the tables, under the pretence of confidence, and of a friendly intercourſe with each other.[2] When the feſtivity was at the height, and probably in the unguarded moments of intoxication, Hengiſt gave the ſignal which had been agreed on, *Hem cowr ſeaxes*, or take your *ſeaxes*. At that inſtant every Saxon drew out his knife, and plunged it into the boſom of the perſon who ſat next A. D. 472.
to him. Above three hundred of the Britiſh nobility, the moſt eminent for their talents in the council or in the field, periſhed in this bloody carouſal.[3] Vortigern was ſpared in the general carnage, though detained a priſoner by Hengiſt;[4] probably with no other

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. [2] Evan's Mirrour, p. 109.

[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 120. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 9. Gale's Script. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 222. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 130. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13. Theſe writers differ reſpecting the number ſlain.

[4] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 131. W. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 10. R. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Fabian, p. 77.

deſign than as a cover to a ſubſequent act of the Britiſh king, which carries with it a ſtrong appearance of baſeneſs; for in order to obtain his liberty, he made an aſſignment to the Saxon prince, of the preſent counties of Eſſex, Suſſex, and Middleſex, and alſo confirmed him in the poſſeſſion of his former territories,[1]

The news of this maſſacre, we may eaſily ſuppoſe, ſpread among the Britons the utmoſt aſtoniſhment and horror; which was probably heightened by a deep ſuſpicion of their ſovereign having acted a ſecondary part, in a ſcene ſo cruel and perfidious. The evident partiality which Vortigern had ſhewn to the Saxons,[2] and his general flagitious conduct,[3] had by this time rendered him almoſt univerſally deteſted.[4] Covered with confuſion and reproach, he withdrew into the wilds of

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[1] Nennius, cap. XLVII. Rapin, vol. I. p. 31.

[2] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 37.

[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 128. [4] Ibid. p. 121.

Caernarvonſhire;[1] but though that ſolitary deſert might conceal him from his injured country, it could not protect him from the conſciouſneſs of guilt, or of folly in the moſt pernicious extreme.

The Britons, having been deceived by the late appearance of friendſhip, and neglecting alſo to provide againſt future contingencies, had diſmiſſed thoſe forces, which under Vortimer their late prince had gained ſo many victories, and had nearly eſtabliſhed their freedom. At this juncture, it is ſaid, they had only ſeven thouſand men in arms who were fit for ſervice;[2] which was by no means a force equal to the great power of the Saxons, rendered now more fierce from a ſenſe of their late barbarity. That event was only the prelude to a ſcene of more extenſive miſery; for the Saxons, at this time, ravaged the whole country from the weſtern to the eaſtern ſea.[1] In the courſe of their ravages, private dwellings and public edifices were levelled with the ground: the common people were put to death without mercy: even venerable prelates ſhared the ſame fate; and the prieſts themſelves were ſlain at the altar, performing the ſacred duties of their office.[2] The bitter animoſity, which uſually attends difference in religion, increaſed the natural fierceneſs of a barbarous people. From this ſcene of miſery, many of the Britons having fled for ſhelter into the mountains or woods, were purſued by the enemy and ſlain; others retired into foreign countries, probably to Armorica their uſual aſylum in diſtreſs; and numbers of them, driven to the laſt extreme of wretchedneſs, gave themſelves up to ſlavery.[3]

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[1] Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 310. in Script. poſt Bœdam.

[2] Evan's Mirrour, p. 110.

Vortigern having deſerted, or what is more probable, having been depoſed from the throne; the Britons turned their eyes to Ambroſius,[1] of the houſe of Cornwall, and the brother of Conſtans their late ſovereign; who had been murdered by Vortigern. This prince, and his brother Uthur Pendragon, had retired from the tyranny of that uſurper, to their uncle the king of Armorica.[2] By the aſſiſtance of that prince, Aurelius Ambroſius, with his brother, landed in Britain A. D. 481. at the head of a large body of forces, and was inſtantly raiſed to the throne.[3] This prince, influenced by motives of a private and of a public nature, deteſting Vortigern as the murderer of his brother, and as a traitor to his country, and afraid of the cabals[4] of a powerful party in his favour, determined in his firſt enterprize, to free himſelf from a dangerous rival. By a rapid movement, he came ſo ſuddenly upon Vortigern, that the

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[1] Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

[2] Gildas, p. 8.

[3] Gildas, p. 8. Bede, lib. I. cap. XV. p. 53.

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[1] Gildas, p. 9. Bede, lib. I. cap. XVI. p. 53.

[2] Matth. Weſtm. p. 113.

[3] Matth. Weſtm. p. 128. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 184.

[4] Fabian, p. 72.

Britiſh king had ſcarcely time to fly to his retreat in North Wales. To this place he was purſued by Ambroſius, and his caſtle* inveſted; which was burned to the ground, either by accident, or by the means employed in the ſiege.[1] And here, in his old age, and after a turbulent reign of thirty-three years, A. D. 481. he periſhed in the flames;[2] together with all his women, one of whom it is ſaid was his own daughter,[3] who lived with him in a ſtate of inceſt.[4] The odium which purſued the memory of Vortigern, mingling with the ſuperſtition of the age, hath imputed his death to the immediate interpoſition of heaven.

In the mean time, many of thoſe Britons who inhabited the country poſſeſſed by Hengiſt, in abhorrence of the cruel and perfidious ſcene he had lately acted at Stonehenge, fled into other provinces, and by their deſertion left his territories in a great meaſure without people or cultivation.[1] To remedy this evil, and to oppoſe the popular adminiſtration and ſpirited conduct of Ambroſius, Hengiſt invited over a freſh body of Saxons; offering them a part of his dominions for their reſidence. In conſequence of this offer, a chieftain, named Ella, arrived with a body of forces, and landed on the coaſt of Suſſex; and after a conteſt of ſeveral years, eſtabliſhed his followers in that country. The name of Suſſex was given to this territory, on account of its being the reſidence of the ſouth Saxons.[2] This ſupply having given ſtability to his new dominions, Hengiſt planted a colony to the eaſt of his own ſettlement in Kent, which took the name of Eſſex from the eaſt Saxons; he likewiſe placed another in that diſtrict which lies between Suſſex and Eſſex, and which was from thence called Middleſex, or the middle Saxons.[1]

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* *Caſtell Gwrtheyrnion*, on the river Wye in *Arwyſtly*.

[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 329. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 231.

[2] Nennius, cap. XLVIII. Verſtegan, cap. V. p. 132.

[3] Nennius, cap. XXXVIII.

[4] Fabian, p. 79. This prince had by his firſt wife three ſons, Vortimer, Catigern, and Paſcens; and he had one ſon named Fauſtus, it is ſaid, by his own daughter.

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[1] Rapin Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 35.

[2] Gale's Scriptores, Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224. Matt. Weſtm. p. 130. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 311. Script. poſt Bedam. Saxon Chr. p. 14.

A. D. 481. The death of his rival ſeated Ambroſius more firmly on the throne. So very popular was the name of this prince in Britain, that numbers crouded to fight under his ſtandard.[2] The Britons of Cambria likewiſe united in the common cauſe, and joined his army.[3] With this force he marched againſt the Saxons in the country beyond the Humber, and entirely defeated them. Hengiſt their leader was taken priſoner. The Saxon prince being brought into the preſence of Ambroſius, was inſtantly beheaded,[4] as an act of juſtice which was due to his deſolated country, and to the maſſacre at Stone-henge; the army likewiſe threw a heap of ſtones over his grave, as a memorial of his infamy, and as a monument of their indignation.[1] The Britiſh prince then laid ſiege to the city of York; in which place, Octa the ſon of Hengiſt, and Eſca his brother had taken refuge; but theſe leaders were ſoon obliged to ſurrender, upon condition, that they and the Saxon ſoldiers ſhould retire into the country near Scotland.[2] After this event, Ambroſius turned his arms againſt Ella the king of the South Saxons; over whoſe forces, it appears, that at firſt he gained ſome advantage.[3] He then recovered London, Wincheſter, and Saliſbury;[4] all which cities had been ſeized by the Saxons after the maſſacre at Stone-henge.[5]

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[1] Rapin, vol. I. p. 35. [2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 128.
[3] Evan's Mirrour, p. 116.
[4] Matt. Weſtm. p. 131, 132. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Script.

On the diſgrace or the death of Vortigern, his third ſon named Paſcen, retired into Germany; with a view to induce the Saxons to ſupport his claim upon the crown, and to join the common cauſe in the conqueſt of Britain. Having had the addreſs to procure a body of troops, he landed upon the coaſt of Scotland, to join the Saxons who had lately been permitted by Ambroſius to ſettle in that country.[1] This prince, receiving intelligence of the invaſion, inſtantly marched to oppoſe the ſon of Vortigern, whoſe army he entirely routed. On this defeat, Paſcen ſailed over into Ireland, to procure aſſiſtance from a king of that country; by this prince he was cordially received, and ſupplied with a body of ſeven thouſand men. With this reinforcement he landed at Milford Haven,* and from thence ravaged the city of St. David[2] in the preſent county of Pembroke, and all the country around it.

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[1] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 240. Sammes's Ant. Brit. p. 474.

[2] Matt. Weſtm. p. 132.

[3] Matt. Weſtm. p. 134.

[4] G. Monmouth, cap. IX. p. 243.

[5] M. Weſt. p. 120.

At this time, Ambroſius lay ſick in the city of Wincheſter.†[3] The news of his ſickneſs being brought to Paſcen, he determined to derive ſome advantage from ſo favourable an incident, and inſtantly ſuggeſted the deſign of murdering the king. There was at that time in his train a Saxon, named Eppa, who was an artful perſon, and of great addreſs; he had likewiſe ſome knowledge of the Britiſh language, and was acquainted with phyſic. This man was choſen as a proper inſtrument for his purpoſe; and, that he might more eaſily gain acceſs to the king, appeared in the characters of a prieſt and a phyſician.[1] Under favour of this diſguiſe, Eppa was introduced into the palace of Ambroſius, and had the addreſs to preſcribe a medicine for that prince in quality of phyſician, in which he had taken care privately to mix poiſon.[2] Ambroſius being dead, in conſequence of the poiſonous medicine he had taken, the traitor inſtantly made his eſcape.[1] This gallant prince was interred in the convent of Ambrius, ſuppoſed to be on Saliſbury plains.[2]

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[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 135.

* *Aberdaugleddau.*

[2] Ibid. Fabian, p. 81.

† *Caer Went.*

[3] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 252.

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[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 135. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 223. Gale's Scriptores. Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253.

[2] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253. Fabian, p. 82.

A. D. 495. About this period, Cerdic, a Saxon chieftain, with his ſon Cenric, landed in Britain; and at length founded the kingdom of Weſſex, or the Weſt Saxons.[3]

A. D. 500. On the death of Ambroſius, his brother Uthur Pendragon was elected to the ſovereign dignity.[4]

On the acceſſion of this prince, the Saxons having gathered ſtrength, had again recourſe to arms; and deſtroying all the fortified places from Scotland to the city of York, they at length laid ſiege to Caer-Ar-Clwyd,[5] the capital of the Strath-Clyde kingdom.

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[1] Geoffry Monmouth, p. 253. [2] Ibid. p. 274.

[3] Saxon Chron. p. 15. Henry Huntingdon, lib. II. p. 313. Script. poſt Bœdam. Ran. Higden, lib. V. p. 224.

[4] Polidore Virgil, lib. III. p. 58. Matt. Weſtm. p. 136. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185.

[5] The preſent Dunbarton.

Uthur Pendragon marched to the relief of that place, where a battle enſued; which after a doubtful conflict, ended in favour of the Britons.[1] In this action, the Saxon leaders Eſca and Coſa, the ſon and couſin of Hengiſt, were taken priſoners,[2] and were confined in London: but theſe chiefs did not remain long in captivity; for having corrupted their guards, they eſcaped out of priſon, and paſſed over into Germany; whence they returned into Britain with a freſh ſupply of ſoldiers. The two Saxon generals tried the fortune of war, once more, with Uthur, in a bloody and well diſputed action at Verulam.[3] On that day, which again might have given a deciſive iſſue to their fortunes, the Britons obtained a compleat victory; and the two leaders Eſka and Octa, were ſlain amidſt the general ſlaughter of the Saxons. During the action, Uthur being indiſpoſed, was carried in a litter through the ranks, to encourage the army by his preſence. This event was immediately followed by the ſiege of Verulam, and after a bloody reſiſtance, that city was taken by the king of Britain.[1] At length, after a reign of ſeventeen years of ſervice and of glory, Uthur Pendragon ended his days by poiſon. His death happened at Verulam, and after the victory he had obtained there. His indiſpoſition having increaſed, it had been his cuſtom every day to drink water out of a certain fountain at a little dſtance from that city, into which ſome of the Saxons, ſuborned for that purpoſe, had contrived to infuſe poiſon.[2] The body of this Britiſh king was carried to the convent of Ambrius, and was interred there, near to the grave of his brother Ambroſius.[3]

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[1] Matt. Weſt. p. 136. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 138.

The recital of the extraordinary manner in which theſe princes have ended their days, may poſſibly be attended with the charge of credulity, or of affecting to enliven the ſubject, by exhibiting pictures of whatever is ſtriking or uncommon. In extenuation of this charge it is replied, that the facts have been taken from ancient writers, and are conſiſtent with the manners of that barbarous age; and that ſuch acts of violence were certainly frequent in the more enlightened period of the ſixteenth century; at which time, it is well known, the art of poiſoning had attained a high degree of refinement.

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[1] Matt, Weſtm. p. 139.

[2] Ibid, Geoff. Monmouth, p. 273.

[3] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 274.

At this period, Maelgwyn, the eldeſt ſon of Caſwallon-law-hir, reigned in that diſtrict which afterwards formed the principality of North Wales, and like his father had a pre-eminency over the other ſovereigns of Cambria.[1] This prince was nephew to king Arthur[2] by the ſiſter of that monarch, and had received a liberal education under the A. D. 510.

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185.

[2] Langhorne's Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 90.

care of the celebrated Iltutus;[1] and whatever were the vices which juſtly ſtained his character, he was eminent for ſtature, valour, and other talents for command; which naturally raiſed men, in times like theſe, into diſtinction and power.[2] Maelgwyn was a formidable enemy to the Saxons, by his abilities, and by the ſtrenuous oppoſition he made againſt that people: he likewiſe conquered the iſland of Man, and the Hebrides,[3] and in conſequence of this was ſtiled Draco Inſularis. This prince uſually reſided at Diganwy in Caernarvonſhire.[4] During this period, the naval power, not only of Britain but alſo of Cambria, appears to have been an object of attention, and to have been eſtabliſhed in ſome degree on a reſpectable footing.[5]

A. D. 517. On the death of Uthur Pendragon, his ſon Arthur was elected to the Britiſh throne.[1] Diveſted of thoſe illuſions, that fancy or affection has raiſed, and which have ever attended the memory of this prince; there ſtill remain concentred in his character thoſe qualities which form a great warrior, and the milder virtues which conſtitute whatever is amiable and good.

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[1] One of the primitive Fathers of the Cambrian church.

[2] Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. lib. V. p. 225.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. 147, 148.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Selden's Mare Clauſum, lib. II. cap. IX. p. 1310.

After the ceremony of Arthur's coronation was performed at Caer Lleon upon Uſk[2] in Monmouthſhire, he marched againſt the Saxons in the north; and meeting with Colgrin, a Saxon prince, on the banks of the river Douglas, a battle enſued; in which the latter was defeated. Apprized of a meditated attack on his camp, in the following night, by Pandulph the brother of Colgrin; Arthur ſent a body of forces to intercept the enemy, many of whom were ſlain, and the remainder put to flight. The Britiſh king, then, laid ſiege to York; but being informed that a large body of Saxons under the command of Cerdic had landed in Scotland, he raiſed the ſiege, and retreated to London.[1]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 185. Verſtegan, c. V. p. 132.

[2] *Caer Lleon ar Wyſg*, or the city of Legions upon the river Uſke. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 82.

By virtue of his authority as ſovereign or chief ruler of the kingdom, Arthur demanded the aſſiſtance of Caron king of Scotland, of Maelgwyn the ſovereign of North Wales, of Meyric prince of South Wales, and of Cador the duke of Cornwall.[2] He likewiſe, by advice of his council, deſired the immediate
A. D. 518. ſupport of his nephew Howel, the king of Armorica.[3] The Britons had uniformly experienced from that country the moſt friendly aſſiſtance; and Howel, it is ſaid, brought fifteen thouſand men to the aid of his uncle.[4]

Thus ſtrongly reinforced, the Britiſh prince marched towards Lincoln; where meeting with the enemy, a battle enſued; in which the Saxons were defeated with the loſs of ſix thouſand men. The remainder flying into Scotland, took refuge in a wood; but were ſoon obliged to ſurrender to Arthur, on the conditions of giving hoſtages, of yielding up all their effects and ſpoils, and of retiring into their own country.[1]

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[1] Langhorne's Ch. Ang. p. 60. Matt. Weſt. p. 139, 140.

[2] Evans's Mirrour, p. 127, 128. from an old Welſh MS.

[3] G. Monmouth, p. 279.

[4] Matth. Weſt. p. 140.

Repenting of their late ſubmiſſion, thoſe Saxons who had juſt before been defeated in Scotland, returned with an increaſed ſtrength into Britain; and having formed a junction with Cerdic, and the different bodies under the command of Paſcen and Eppa, inveſted Bath;[2] in hopes that the Britons, to preſerve a place of ſuch importance, would attempt to raiſe the ſiege, and of conſequence bring on a battle. In this expectation they were not deceived, as Arthur determined to run every hazard rather than to ſuffer that place to be taken.

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[1] Matt. Weſt. p. 140. Langhorne, Ch. Ang. p. 61.

[2] Called by Ptolomy, Aquæ Calidæ, or hot water; by Antoninus, Aquæ Solis, or water of the ſun; by the Britons, Caer Badon; and by the Saxons, Bathe; ſaid to be built by king Bladud, a Britiſh prince. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 19. Evans, p. 121. Matt. Weſtm. p. 141.

The critical nature of the times not admitting of delay, he ſent ſummonſes to the North, to Oxford,[1] London, Cornwall, and into Wales; with orders to the different chiefs to exert themſelves in this dangerous ſituation of their country.[2] His ſummons was inſtantly obeyed by a chieftain of North Wales, of the name of Nathan Llwyd; and who joined him with a body of five thouſand men.[3] Having aſſembled his forces, king Arthur advanced to meet the enemy near Bath. The action on the firſt day between the two parties was obſtinately diſputed, great numbers on each ſide being ſlain; and though Arthur exerted his uſual bravery and military talents, neither the Saxons nor Britons obtained any advantage.[1] Both armies kept the field, waiting for the return of day to renew the fight. The Saxons, during the night, had poſted themſelves upon a riſing ground called Banneſdown, a ſituation of great importance, though it had been neglected by both armies the day before. Arthur perceiving his error, on the return of light, and the advantage of ſuch a poſt, determined to diſlodge them; which he accompliſhed after a very long and bloody reſiſtance. Animated by the daring ſpirit of their prince, who ruſhed ſword in hand amidſt the ranks of the enemy, exhibiting aſtoniſhing proofs of valour and proweſs, the Britons made a furious aſſault upon the Saxons; and perceiving ſome diſorder as they retreated down the hill, puſhed them with ſtill more vigour, and in the end entirely defeated

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[1] Called by the Britons Rhyd-Ychen, or the ford of Oxen; by the Saxons, Oxenford. See Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 24.

[2] Evans's Mirrour, p. 120.

[3] Ibid. p. 121.

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[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 141. Langhorni Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 61.

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A. D. 520. them.[1] In this day's action, two Saxon chiefs, Colgrin and Pandulph, were ſlain. Cerdic retreated with the remains of his army to the iſland of Thanet, to which place he was purſued by Cador duke of Cornwall.[2]

An incident happened, at this time, which gave the Saxons leiſure to breathe, and probably ſaved them from ruin. This event was produced by a diverſion made in the north, by the Picts in alliance with the Saxons. Theſe people knowing that Arthur was at a diſtance, and that his nephew Howel the king of Armorica lay ſick at Caer-ar-Clwyd,[3] a town ſtanding on the river Clyde; took advantage of theſe favourable incidents, and laid ſiege to that place; concluding that they ſhould take it before any relief could be given. The activity and rapid movements of Arthur diſappointed their views. Forſaking the advantage which might have ariſen by purſuing his late ſucceſs; in the true ſpirit of chivalry, he flew to the aſſiſtance of his nephew, and raiſed the ſiege. In reſentment of this act of hoſtility in the Picts, which had wreſted from him the fruits of his victory, Arthur laid waſte their country; and it was only preſerved from meditated ruin by the interceſſion of the Scottiſh biſhops.[1]

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[1] Matt. Weſtm. p. 141. Langhorni, Chr. Angl. p. 62.

[2] Ibid. p. 141.

[3] Dun Barton.

The late victories having for the preſent ſecured the public peace, Howel the king of Armorica returned into his own kingdom.[2]

After the defeat of Cerdic, this prince had remained quiet in his own dominions, expecting a ſupply from Germany.[3] On the arrival of this reinforcement, he ravaged the Britiſh territories; and Arthur, though weakened by the numerous battles he had fought, endeavoured by every means in his power to repel ſo formidable an enemy. The fortune of the war remained ſome time uncertain; but Cerdic having at length gained a compleat victory, the Britons were thrown into deſpair of being ever able to ſubdue the Saxons. Under the influence of this impreſſion, and fearing leſt he ſhould wear out the ſtrength of his remaining troops by continuing the war, Arthur found it neceſſary to negotiate with Cerdic; and to cede to him a part of his dominions, rather than to hazard the whole upon the iſſue of arms. A peace was concluded, in conſequence of this negotiation, by the ſurrender of the counties of Hants and Somerſet. The Saxon prince, fatigued with the toils of a long war, and deſirous of repoſe, readily agreed to the terms; and at this time founded the kingdom of Weſſex, or of the Weſt Saxons.[1]

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[1] Langhorni Chron. Angl. p. 63. Matth. Weſt. p. 141. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 288.

[2] Rapin's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 37.

[3] Ranulph Higden. lib. V. p. 225. Langhorni, Chron. Angl. Reg. p. 68.

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[1] Fabian, p. 94. Langhorni, Chr. Ang. Reg. p. 69. Ranulph Higden, lib. V. p. 225. Gale's Script.

At this period, the Angles arrived on the eaſtern coaſt of Britain; and in the courſe of time and ſlow progreſs of conqueſt, forced the natives to abandon that country; on which theſe people ſettled, and founded the fifth kingdom by the name of the Eaſt Angles.[1] A. D. 527.

The peace of Armorica having been diſturbed by an inſurrection in that ſtate, Howel ſent into Britain to ſolicit aſſiſtance; and the martial ſpirit of Arthur being unemployed at this time, he repaired in perſon to the relief of his nephew; and reſtored the quiet of that country by ſlaying with his own hands the leader of the rebellion.[2] Cerdic, taking advantage of the abſence of king Arthur, and encouraged by the arrival of the Angles, broke the peace he had lately concluded; and being ſeconded by the valour of his ſon Cenric, he extended his conqueſts, by gain-

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[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 73. Matt. Weſt. p. 142.

[2] Ibid. p. 74.

A. D. 527. ing a ſignal victory over the Britons at Cerdic-leah, ſuppoſed to be in Buckinghamſhire.[1] In this ſeaſon of danger, Arthur returned from the continent; and his preſence compoſed, in ſome meaſure, the diſordered ſtate of his kingdom.[2]

The king of Armorica, being fearful of an invaſion from the *Viſigoths*, once more deſired the aſſiſtance of Arthur; and that prince, deſerting the patriotiſm which had in general directed his conduct, left his own country in this perilous ſituation, to give aſſiſtance to his kinſman. A. D. 530. He appointed, during his abſence, his nephew Mordred* regent of the kingdom, and entruſted to his care Gueniver † his wife.[3] He had ſcarcely left his dominions, when Cerdic, again taking advantage of his abſence, reduced the Iſle of

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[1] Saxon Chron. p. 18.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 74.

* *Meddrawd.* † *Gwenhwyfar.*

[3] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 78.

Wight.[1] But a blow more fatal to his intereſts and his feelings immediately followed. The regent, being captivated with the beauty of the Britiſh queen, and regardleſs of the duties which he owed to honour and to gratitude, had a criminal intercourſe with that princeſs, and afterwards publicly married her.[2] There are crimes of ſuch a nature, as to urge men, on the principle of ſelf-preſervation, to plunge ſtill deeper in guilt. In ſuch a ſituation was the regent, who had no other means of avoiding the juſt vengeance of Arthur, than by accompliſhing his ruin. The more effectually to promote this deſign, he entered into an alliance with Cerdic; and to engage him more ſtrongly in his intereſts, he ceded to him the dutchy of Cornwall, with the counties of Suſſex and Surry, of Berks, Wilts, Devon, and Dorſet.[3] Supported by ſuch a powerful alliance, Mordred was immediately crowned at London.[4]

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[1] Saxon Chron. p. 18.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 78. Matt. Weſt. p. 144.

[3] Ibid. p. 79.

[4] Ibid. Matt. Weſt. p. 144. Fabian, p. 94.

A. D. 535. AFTER a ſtay of five years in Armorica, Arthur returned into Britain.[1] The conduct of that prince, waſting in romantic enterprizes ſuch an intereſting period, was ſo oppoſite to the dictates of natural feelings and of policy, that ſober reflection is inclined to reject it as a legendary fable. Indeed a judicious recital of events in theſe ages is peculiarly difficult; directed, or rather bewildered in his way by the glimmering of imperfect and partial records, the hiſtorian can only judge of the reality of incidents, by what is probable and conſiſtent.

ON the return of Arthur into Britain, he was joined by many officers and ſoldiers, in conſideration of the renown and eſteem which he had acquired. With this ſmall body of troops, he had to contend with the Saxons, the regent Mordred, and with the Picts, who had lately joined in the alliance.[2] However unequal the conteſt in point of numbers, that deficiency was balanced by the abilities of Arthur; who by the reſources of his genius was enabled, with great advantage, to carry on the war ſeven years; until at length, purſuing his enemies from one place to another, he drove them into Cornwall; and a battle enſued at Camlan,[1] between the two rivals, which decided the fortune of the war.[2] This action proved fatal to the Britons, as their beſt ſoldiers in both armies were ſlain;[3] and the two princes, engaging with great fury, periſhed by each other's ſword. The traitor Mordred immediately fell by the hand of Arthur.[4] The latter prince, ſorely wounded, was carried to Glaſtonbury Abbey;* and after lingering a few days, died, and was interred there,[5] with Gueniver his ſecond and beſt beloved wife.[6] Thus fell by the hand of treaſon, A. D. 542.

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[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Angl. p. 82. M. Weſt. p. 144.

[2] Ibid. p. 82.

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[1] Camden's Brit. p. 194. Holland's tranſlation.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 82—88.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

* *Ynys Afallon*, or *Ynys Wydrin.*

[5] Langhorni, p. 88.

[6] De Antiq. Glaſtonb. p. 306. Gale's Script.

full of days and of glory, the renowned Arthur. Such was the veneration in which this celebrated warrior was held by the Britons, that for many ages they could not be perſuaded he was dead, but fondly expected his return from foreign countries to reinſtate the Britiſh empire.

During the late reigns, the ancient Britons had attained to the meridian of their glory; but the period aſſigned for the cloſe of their empire drew nigh, though the beams which brightened its decline lingered for a time in the weſt, until gradually receding from the ſight, not a ſingle ray remained upon the horizon.

The death of Arthur decided the fate of Britain. The ſplendour which had diſtinguiſhed the late æra, deriving its luſtre from the virtue of a few individuals, became clouded by oppoſite qualities in the princes of the ſucceeding period. Before Arthur expired, he appointed his nephew Conſtantine, the ſon of Cador duke of Cornwall, to ſucceed him in his dignity;[1] but this elevation could only extend to his hereditary dominions, as the ſovereignty of Britain was purely elective.[2] However he was called to that dignity by the voice of the people.[3] A. D. 542. During his reign, the Saxons, having eſpouſed the cauſe of the ſons of Mordred the late regent, with a view no doubt of fomenting diviſions; thoſe two princes, after bloody wars with Conſtantine, and with various ſucceſs, were obliged to give up the conteſt. One of theſe unfortunate youths having fled for ſanctuary into the church of St. Amphibalus in Wincheſter, was there cruelly murdered by the Britiſh king; and the other, taking refuge in a convent in London, was maſſacred at the altar, a little time after, by the ſame prince.[4] At length, this king, being harraſſed by the Saxons, retired to his hereditary dominions of Cornwall;[1] and, ſtruck with remorſe for the late murders, or ſinking into the ſuperſtition of the age, he renounced the world, and engaged in a religious life.[2] This prince was the laſt king of Britain of the Cornwall family.[3]

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[1] Ranulph Higden. Gale's Script. p. 225. Langhorni, p. 86. Matth. Weſtm. p. 145. G. Monmouth, p. 358.

[2] Langhorni, p. 101. Rowland, p. 171. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

[3] Rowland, p. 184.

[4] Ran. Higden, p. 225. Gale's Script. Langhorni, p. 101. Matth. Weſtm. p. 145. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 359. Gildas Epiſtola, p. 10.

Encouraged by the death of Arthur, and the diſmay of the Britons in conſequence
A. D. 547. of that event, a large body of Saxons under the command of Ida landed in Yorkſhire; and with the conſent of their countrymen who were already ſettled there, founded the kingdom of Northumberland.[4]

A. D. 552. **Maelgwyn** the king of North Wales endowed, at this time, the See of Bangor, with lands and franchiſes:[5] he likewiſe erected the town of that name;[1] and alſo built or repaired Shrewſbury, and the caſtle of Harlech.[2] It was at Bangor that this prince, ſtruck, as it is ſaid, with remorſe for the crimes of his paſt life, reſolved to devote himſelf to the auſterities of a cloiſter; but he ſoon renounced that deſign, and returned to the affairs of government, and to his old habits of criminal pleaſures.[3]

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[1] Rowland, p. 146. [2] Ibid. p. 187. Langhorni, p. 117.
[3] Rowland, p. 170. [4] Saxon Annals, p. 19.
[5] Rowland, p. 187.

At this period, when the Saxons had conquered a great part of Britain, and had made their approaches to the borders of Cambria, that country appears to have been divided into ſix principalities. And in the preſent critical ſituation of affairs, the people of thoſe diſtricts aſſembled at the mouth of the river Dyvi, and elected Maelgwyn to the ſovereign dignity.[4] The choice of the A. D. 560.

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[1] Langhorni, p. 98. [2] J. Roſſi, Ant. Warw. p. 65.

[3] Gildas Epiſtola, p. 12. Gale's Scriptores. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 147.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 63. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132.

Britons, in ſuch a dangerous criſis, reflects ſome degree of honour on this prince; and ſeems to contradict the character given of him by Gildas, who has cenſured him in the true ſpirit of monaſtic ſeverity.

A. D. 560. UPON the death of Maelgwyn, his ſon Rhun ſucceeded to the government of North Wales.[1] This prince had a long and bloody war with the Saxons of Northumberland; and on his return into Wales, he gave great privileges to the inhabitants of Caernarvonſhire, as a recompence for having detained them ſo long from their families on that northern expedition.[2] This prince reſided at Caer Rhun, ſituated upon the banks of the river Conway;[3]
A. D. 586. and at his death was ſucceeded by his ſon Beli.[4]

AT this period, arrived Crida with a numerous body of Saxons, and having forced the Britons beyond the Severn, he founded the kingdom of Mercia; the greateſt and the laſt principality of the Saxon heptarchy.[1] The eſtabliſhment of theſe ſeven kingdoms narrowed the bounds of the Britiſh dominions. Preſſed on every ſide by advancing enemies, and weakened by inceſſant wars, the Britons were at length obliged to retire before the Saxon arms. But they retired indignant, and by ſlow degrees, to make another ſtruggle for liberty amidſt the mountains of Wales; a country which had been formed by nature as the ſuitable retreat, and the laſt aſylum of freedom.

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 187. [2] Ibid. p. 164.

[3] Ibid. p. 148. [4] Ibid. p. 187.

Many Britons likewiſe retired into Cornwall and Armorica; and the latter country, about this time, took the name of Bretaigne,[2] on account of the great number of the refugees who had ſettled in it.

The native Britons being in a great meaſure exterminated, or forced to fly into other countries, and the Saxons having carried on their conqueſts with the ſame deſtructive ſpirit which diſtinguiſhed the other northern nations, the government of the conquerors, their laws, manners and language, with the names alſo of many of their cities, villages, rivers and woods,[1] were of conſequence introduced into Britain; and became ſo perfectly eſtabliſhed, that almoſt the remembrance of ancient inſtitutions was loſt.

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 150.

[2] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132, 133.

In reflecting on the many cauſes which have contributed to the decline of the ancient Britiſh empire, *one* will perhaps occur which may be thought more ſtriking than the reſt. This defect in the national character of the Britons, was an almoſt uniform negligence in eſtabliſhing a naval power; although experience, and a maritime ſituation, pointed out its expediency; as the only effectual means of contending with the Saxons, and of counteracting their deſigns. This mode of defence was ſo obvious, that it might have ſtruck the minds of any people, more rude than the Britons, who were ſituated in an iſland, and expoſed to continual invaſions.

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[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 133.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK III.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE WARS BETWEEN THE SAXONS AND WELSH, TO THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT.

The Britiſh empire being reduced to the narrow limits of Cambria, except the ſmall territories of Cornwall and Strath-Clyde, that country about this period took the name of Wales. The inhabitants, likewiſe, with their ancient ſituation loſt the title of Britons, and became diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Welſh. Poſſeſſed of the warlike ſpirit which marked the Britiſh character, they carried into their mountains that rooted inveteracy againſt the Saxons, which hereditary wars, heightened by every injury, would naturally excite. The ſame ſeverity of fortune which diſtinguiſhed the ancient Britons, awaited the deſcendants of that brave people in their laſt aſylum; as the conqueſt of this barren domain became the object of ambition, and policy, to the Saxon and Norman princes.

About this period, the province of *Cymru*, or Wales, appears to have been divided into ſix principalities, and governed by ſo many Reguli;[1] acknowledging, however, the ſupremacy of the kings of North Wales. This region extended about two hundred miles in length, and one hundred in breadth;[2] and was ſeparated from England* by the rivers Severn and Dee, and ſurrounded on every other ſide by the Iriſh ſea.[3] The inhabitants in the

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary of Britain, p. 63.

[2] Ibid. p. 57. Verſtegan, chap. I. p. 1. * *Lloegr.*

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 50.

British

A. D. 599. Britiſh language were denominated *Cymry*; and they called the Saxons *Saeſon*, and their language *Saeſonaeg*.[1]

A. D. 599. At this period Jago ap Beli reigned in North Wales, and founded the Deanry of Bangor.[2] A. D. 603. His ſon Cadvan ſoon after ſucceeded to that dignity.[3] The early part of this prince's reign was diſtinguiſhed by the battle of Cheſter,[4] and by the memorable maſſacre of the monks of Bangor.

Edelfrid the king of Northumberland, having obtained an advantage over the northern Britons, turned his arms againſt the Welſh; who were at that time in poſſeſſion of Cheſter. On his arrival near that city, his army being drawn up in front of the enemy, he perceived a body of men without military appearance, who were ſtationed in a place of ſecurity. Struck with the novelty of the ſight, he enquired into the cauſe; and was told that they were monks from the monaſtery of Bangor, who had come to offer up their prayers for the proſperous event of the day. Enraged with an oppoſition ſo ſingular in its nature, and ſtimulated by hatred of a religion which threatened the deſtruction of Paganiſm, Edelfrid ordered his army to aſſault this defenceleſs and pious troop, who had already faſted and prayed for the ſpace of three days. Twelve hundred of theſe unfortunate Religious were cut in pieces; fifty only of the whole number preſent in the battle having eſcaped the enemy's ſword. Brochmael,* prince of Powys, having deſerted their protection, had fled out of the field with his ſoldiers, on the firſt advance of the Saxons.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 13, 51.

[2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 187.

[3] Ibid. p. 188.

[4] Called by the Britons Caer-Lleon-ar-Ddyfrdwy, or the city of the legions upon the water of Dee; the Saxons called it Legan-Ceſtre, and afterwards by abbreviation Cheſter; it appears in Antoninus, that it was called in Latin Deva, from the river Dee. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

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* *Brochwel Yſgithrog.*

THIS unfavourable omen might naturally have cooled the ardour of a people leſs ſuperſtitious than the Welſh: but it ſeems that they regarded this act of Edelfrid as an impious ſacrilege; and though in the action which enſued, or in the purſuit, they were terribly ſlaughtered, it appears however, by the great loſs which their enemies ſuſtained, that they made a ſpirited reſiſtance.[1] After the battle, the Saxon prince marched to Bangor, a Britiſh monaſtery ſituated on the banks of the river Dee; and with a barbariſm peculiar to the Goths, deſtructive of thoſe arts which ſoften and improve human nature, he entirely laid waſte that ancient and celebrated ſeminary of learning, and committed to the flames its valuable library.[2] Edelfrid then attempted to penetrate into Wales; but his paſſage over the Dee at Bangor was diſputed by the prince of Powys, who gallantly ſuſtained the charge until relieved by Cadvan the king of North Wales, by Meredydh the king of South Wales, and Bledrus the ſovereign of Cornwall.[1] When the confederated princes had joined their forces, they called in religion to their aid. Dunothus,* the abbot of Bangor, made an oration to the army; and, before the action commenced, gave orders, that the ſoldiers ſhould kiſs the ground in commemoration of the communion of the body of Chriſt, and ſhould take up water into their hands out of the river Dee, and drink it in remembrance of his ſacred blood, which was ſhed for them.[2] Animated by this act of devotion, which in theſe times had a powerful influence on the mind, and ſtung with reſentment for the diſgrace and injuries they had lately received, the Welſh encountered the Saxons with great bravery, entirely defeated them, with the loſs of above ten thouſand men; and obliged Edelfrid, with the remainder of his army, to retreat into their own country.[1] There was ſomething ſingular in the fortunate event of that day, as an act of retaliative juſtice, and as it ſeverely puniſhed, in the ſight of Bangor, the recent deſolation of its monaſtery.

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[1] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 150. Bede, lib. II. cap. II. p. 80. Saxon Chron. p. 25. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 17.

[2] Langhorni, p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 71.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 72. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 369.

* *Dinoeth.* [2] Langhorni, p. 151. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 72.

In conſequence of this victory, Cadvan king of North Wales was elected at Cheſter A. D. 613. to the ſovereignty of Britain;[2] but in the preſent loſs of empire, that dignity could extend no farther, than to command the united forces of the remaining Britons.

On the death of Cadvan, his ſon Cadwallon ſucceeded to the kingdom of North Wales.[3]

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[1] Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132. Geoff. Monmouth, p. 371. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 72. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 151.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

This prince carried his arms into Northumberland againſt Edwin the king of Deira, who had been educated in the court of Cadwallon; but a violent animoſity had of late ariſen between the two princes.[1] The Britiſh king, advancing againſt the Saxon prince into Northumberland, was routed by Edwin, in a bloody battle fought at Widdrington;* who purſuing his good fortune, extended his conqueſts over all the Britiſh territories in Wales, as well as the iſlands of Mona and Man.[2]

During theſe tranſactions, Cadwallon had taken refuge in Ireland.[3] After an abſence of ſome years, this prince recovered his dominions. An union of intereſts having engaged him in an alliance with Penda king of Mercia, the two princes, with their joint forces, made a rapid movement into Yorkſhire, and entirely defeated the Northumbrian A. D. 633. king in Hatfield foreſt.[1] Edwin and his ſon fell in the battle, and left their country expoſed to the ferocious ſpirit of the confederated princes.[2] A ſcene of deſolation followed this victory, but Cadwallon ſurpaſſed his Pagan aſſociate in cruelty and mercileſs ravages.[3]

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[1] Geoff. Monmouth, p. 372, 376. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Diſſertation on Britiſh Chron. taken from the Triades.

* *Dinwydr.*

[2] Matt. Weſt. p. 165. Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. cap. IX. p. 87. William Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 18. Script. poſt Bedam. Vaughan of Hengwrt's Diſſertation on Britiſh Chron. taken from the Triades.

[3] Ibid.

On the death of Edwin, Edfridus ſucceeded to the kingdom of Bernicia, and being nearly related to Penda by his mother, fled to the Mercian prince for protection.[4] Cadwallon retiring to York, carried on from thence his furious depredations.[1] At this juncture, Oſric aſſumed the crown of Deira;* and in hopes by one blow to take revenge for his deſolated country, he inveſted that city; but, in a ſally made by Cadwallon, he was ſlain, and his army defeated.[2] His aſſociate, the king of Bernicia, ſeeing their utmoſt exertions ſink under the ſuperior valour or fortune of the Britiſh prince, attempted to try the arts of negotiation. With this view he came to treat with Cadwallon in perſon, with only twelve ſoldiers in his train; but in return for ſuch an inſtance of generous confidence, the Saxon prince, with his attendants, were baſely aſſaſſinated.[3] This outrage fully juſtifies the character of a cruel and faithleſs tyrant, given to this prince by the Saxon writers.[4] A. D. 634.

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[1] Bede, lib. II. cap. XX. p. 101. Brompton's Chron. p. 284.

[2] Saxon Chron. p. 29. Langhorni, Chr. Reg. p. 176.

[3] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 182. J. Brompton's Chron. p. 784. Wm. Malmſbury, lib. I. p. 18. Gale's Script.

[4] Bede, lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 784, 785. Langhorni, p. 182.

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 167.

* Deifr.

[2] Ibid. Langhorni, p. 184. Brompton's Chron. p. 785.

[3] Bede Eccl. Hiſt. lib. III. cap. I. p. 103. Brompton's Chron. p. 786. Matth. Weſtm. p. 167. Langhorni Chr. p. 184.

[4] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 66.

A. D. 635. At this time, Cadwallon was choſen king of the Britons, very probably on account of his late ſucceſs, and his ability to carry on the war.[1]

The British king, after this act of violence, ſtill continued to deſolate the country, until his career was ſtopped by Oſwald; who, ſucceeding to the crowns of Deira and Bernicia,* united them into the kingdom of Northumberland.[2] This prince, who at this time had embraced the Chriſtian religion, was yet in his early youth, and had collected a ſmall and determined band to oppoſe Cadwallon and his victorious army: and when the Britiſh king marched to attack the Saxons, he proceeded with all the ſecurity and inſolence which a contempt of enemies, and the pride of victory, are apt to inſpire. But Oſwald, ſenſible of the greatneſs of the object for which he contended, acted with the utmoſt circumſpection. With a view to heighten the ardour of his troops by religious enthuſiaſm, or to draw down proſperity on his arms by an act of devotion, he ordered a croſs to be erected on the field of battle, to ſerve as the ſtandard of the army. At this pious work Oſwald himſelf aſſiſted; and the moment before the trumpet ſounded the charge, that prince, accompanied by his army, kneeled at the foot of the croſs; appealed to heaven for the juſtice of his cauſe, and implored its aſſiſtance to confound the inſolence of his enemies. Fortified by theſe acts of piety in their ſovereign, the Saxon troops early in the morning advanced to attack the enemy, and ſtormed their camp. In the action Cadwallon was ſlain; and the Welſh, driven into confuſion by the death of their prince, were routed, and almoſt entirely cut in pieces. This battle is ſaid to have happened at Deniſbourne in Northumberland.[1]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

* *Bryneich.*

[2] Brompton's Chron. p. 785. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 13.

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[1] Bede's Eccl. Hiſt. lib. III. cap. II. p. 104. William Malmſbury, lib. I. cap. III. p. 19.

On

A. D. 676. On the death of this prince, his ſon Cadwalader ſucceeded to the kingdom of North Wales, and to the ideal ſovereignty of Britain.[1] In the courſe of his reign, the irruptions of the Saxons had become more frequent; and a famine, with its uſual attendant a peſtilential diſtemper, had raged in Britain;[2] the conſequent evils of deſolating wars, and of a diſordered police. To avoid the common dangers of his country, a conduct which did not mark a magnanimous ſpirit, Cadwalader with numbers of his no-
A. D. 689. bility and other ſubjects retired to Alan his kinſman, the king of Bretaigne; in whoſe court he found an hoſpitable reception.[3] From an uniform and perhaps a ſingular principle of affection, we have ſeen this country afford an aſylum to the Britons in every ſeaſon of adverſity.

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Verſtegan, chap. V. p. 132. [2] Wynne Hiſt. Wales, p. 8.

[3] Baker's Chron. p. 4. J. Fordun's Hiſt. Scot. Gale's Scriptor. p. 647.

After reſiding ſome time in the court of Bretaigne, Cadwalader prepared to return into Wales; having heard that the famine and peſtilence had ceaſed, and that the Saxons, with increaſing power, were endeavouring to extend their conqueſts.[1] With this view, he collected an army compoſed of his own ſubjects and his allies the Bretons, with a ſuitable fleet to tranſport them acroſs the channel.[2] A magnanimous prince, in ſuch a ſituation, would either have reſcued his country from its danger, or would have buried himſelf in its ruins. But at the moment that Cadwalader was going to embark, he was warned in a viſion, which he fancied to be a ſudden impulſe from heaven; and which directed him to lay aſide the cares of the world, to go immediately to Rome, and to receive holy orders from the hands of the Pope. This illuſion, the effect of a weak or a diſtempered mind, he communicated to the king of Bretaigne; who, probably from intereſted motives, took advantage of this incident to act on the weakneſs of this prince, and on the credulous ſpirit of his nation; a ſpirit which, in common with every other people in the ſame ſtage of refinement, always paid a high veneration to men, who, under the impulſe of a warm imagination, fancied themſelves to be endued with the power of revealing future events.

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[1] Baker's Chron. p. 4. Welſh Chron. by Carodoc of Llancarvan, and re-publiſhed by Dr. Powel, p. 3.

[2] Ibid.

Having conſulted the prophetic books of the two *Merlins*,[1] which, by the Britons, were deemed as ſacred as the pages of the Roman *Sybils*; Alan told him, that they predicted the ruin of the Britiſh empire, until the time that the bones of king Cadwalader ſhould be brought back from Rome. He then adviſed him to act up to the patriotic deſign, and to follow the impulſe of his viſion. Thus confirmed in the deluſion, Cadwalader proceeded to Rome; and agreeably to the intereſted views of the Roman pontiffs, was kindly received by Pope Sergius. After he had ſubmitted to have his head ſhaven, and to be initiated into the order of white monks, this Britiſh king lived eight years as a religious recluſe;[1] exemplary in the piety of thoſe days, but in a ſituation unworthy of a prince; as it ſecluded him from the practice of active virtue, and of conſequence from promoting the real intereſts of his people; for which great end alone princes are delegated to rule mankind.

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[1] There were two of that name; the firſt, called Merddyn Wyllt, was born in Scotland; the other, called Merddyn Emrys, was born at Caermarthen. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79. Lewis Morris.

The death of Cadwalader cloſed the imperial dignity which had been annexed many ages to the Britiſh government.[2] The Welſh princes of later times uſually reſided at Di- A. D. 703.

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[1] Wynne Hiſt. Wales, p. 10, 11.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 5. Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

ganwy[1] on the water of Conway,[*] and at Caer Segont[2] near Caernarvon.[3]

Cadwalader having thus, in the weakneſs of ſuperſtition,[*] abdicated his throne; and his ſon Edwal,[†] yet a minor, being under the protection of Alan, this latter prince appears to have thrown off the maſk; and to have been deſirous of realizing the proſpects of ambition, which the late event had opened to his view. Under colour, no doubt, of acting for the common cauſe, he attached to his ſervice thoſe Welſh who had been the followers of the late prince; and with theſe troops and a body of his own ſubjects, under the command of his ſon Ivor, a deſcent was made on the weſtern coaſt of Britain. Alarmed at this dangerous invaſion, the Saxons oppoſed Ivor with their accuſtomed ſpirit and reſolution.[1] But that prince, having defeated them with great ſlaughter, gained poſſeſſion of Cornwall, Devon, and Somerſet.[2] To oppoſe this invaſion, become formidable by the acquiſition of theſe territories to Ivor, Kentwyn, king of the weſt Saxons, drew together a conſiderable force. Each of the princes, ſenſible of the importance of the conteſt, ſeemed unwilling to put it to the deciſion of arms: in the end, the arts of love and negotiation prevailed; and Ivor, ſatisfied with the conqueſts already made, agreed to marry Ethelburga, the couſin of the Saxon prince. By this marriage, by the death of Kentwyn, and by Cedwell the nephew of that Saxon prince retiring to Rome, Ivor became ſovereign of the weſtern part of Britain; including the Saxon and Britiſh territories.

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[1] Famous in Tacitus by the name of Cangorum (the people there being called Cangi) and called afterwards Gannock by the Engliſh. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 66.

[*] *Cynwy.*

[2] Called by the Romans Segontium.

[3] Caer-yn-ar-von; the city oppoſite Mona. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65. Wynne Hiſt. Wales, p. 12.

[†] *Edwal Iwrch.*

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 7, 8.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 8. By Carodoc of Llancarvan, tranſlated by Dr. Powel, about 1584.

tories. Wearied, at length, with the cares of government, or ſinking into the ſuperſtition of the age, or ſtruck with remorſe for his paſt injuſtice, this prince withdrew from the cares of royalty, and buried himſelf in the receſſes of a cloiſter. As a more effectual atonement for the injuries which had been done to the family of Cadwalader, he left to Roderic Moelwynoc, the grandſon of that prince, his Britiſh dominions.[1]

A. D. 720. Roderic had no ſooner taken poſſeſſion of his territories, than Adelred, who ſucceeded Ivor in the Saxon part of his dominions, invaded Devonſhire; and with fire and ſword carried deſolation through the country. He was proceeding with the like A. D. 721. ravages into Cornwall; but was met upon the confines by the Britons, who defeated his forces, and obliged him to retreat into his own dominions.[2]

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 15. Rowland's Mon. p. 188.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 15.

The fertile and pleaſant lands which are ſituated between the Severn and the Wye, tempted Ethelbald to form the deſign of annexing them to his Mercian kingdom. With this view, he invaded that part of the country with a powerful army, and proceeded with the uſual devaſtations as far as Carno mountain near Abergavenny.* On this mountain he was oppoſed by the Welſh, and a fierce and bloody battle enſued, which A. D. 728. was not however deciſive in favour of either party.[1] The ſame prince, ſome years after, having formed an alliance with Adelred, king of the Weſt Saxons, theſe princes marched their united forces into Wales. Though the danger was imminent, and their powers of reſiſtance comparatively ſmall, the Welſh, with great ſpirit, oppoſed the combined A. D. 733. princes; and a well conteſted action, and miſerable ſlaughter on both ſides enſued, un-

* *Abergefni.*

[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 16. At this time (A. D. 734.) died the venerable Bede. Flores Hiſt. Matt. Weſt. p. 203.

til the former were overpowered by ſuperiority of numbers. Diſpirited by this defeat, and taking advantage of a rupture which had ariſen between Ethelbald and Cudred, who had ſucceeded to the throne of the Weſt Saxons, the Welſh entered into an alliance with the latter prince. Elated however with his late victory, and regardleſs of this acceſſion to their power, Ethelbald attempted another invaſion of Wales, and advanced as far as Hereford.[1] At that place, likewiſe, he met with a ſpirited reſiſtance from the A. D. 746. Welſh; and by the aſſiſtance of their allies, they gave him a ſignal overthrow.[2] But a reconciliation taking place between the Saxon kings, Cudred withdrew from the intereſts of the Welſh, and joined his forces with thoſe of Ethelbald. The military proweſs of their allies being thus taken from the Welſh, the ſcale was turned; and in another battle which ſoon after enſued with the Saxons, they were entirely diſcomfited.[1]

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[1] Anciently called Henfford, or the old road of Engliſhmen. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 74.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 17.

A DARK cloud at this period ſettled over the Britiſh hemiſphere; and the few governments which ſtill remained amidſt the ruins of time, except thoſe of Wales, became extinguiſhed one after the other. Eadbert, the king of Northumberland, an active and valiant prince, turned his arms againſt the Strath-Clyde Britons, and made himſelf maſter of Caer-ar-Clwyd, the capital of their A. D. 750.
dominions.[2] The weſtern part of Britain, likewiſe, which had been under the ſovereignty of Roderic Moelwynoc, the ſon of Edwal, was at this time conquered by the Saxons; and that prince forced to retire into North Wales. The government of this country had been poſſeſſed by the two ſons of

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[1] Henry Huntingdon, p. 340. Script. poſt Bedam. Matt. Weſtm. p. 206. Brompton, p. 768.

[2] Langhorni, Chr. Reg. Ang. p. 287. Simon Dunelme, p. 105. Sammes's Ant. of Britain, p. 546.

Bledrus the prince of Cornwall, ever ſince Cadvan had been elected to the ſovereign dignity; and, however ſingular the incident A. D. 750. may appear, Roderic ſeems to have been quietly permitted to enjoy his right as ſoon as he had announced his claim.[1] This prince ſoon after died, and left two ſons, Cynan Tindaethwy and Howel.[2] He uſually reſided at Caer Segont on the ſtraits of the Menai in Caernarvonſhire.[3]

Amidst the continual wars which had ſo long harraſſed the Saxons and the Welſh, neither of theſe people had much leiſure to attend to maritime affairs; and the naval power of Britain was of courſe inconſiderable; however the attention which was given to this neceſſary meaſure, was, at this time, only to be found in the ports of Wales.[4]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 17, 18.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 172.

[4] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. of Brit. p. 58.

Cynan Tindaethwy, the eldeſt ſon of the deceaſed prince, ſucceeded to the throne of North Wales.[1] The late ſucceſs of the Saxons in the weſtern part of Britain encouraged them in the deſign of extending their dominions, and inſpired them with a confident expectation of being able to make an eaſy conqueſt of Wales. In the purſuit of this deſign they proceeded as far as Hereford; but on that frontier they were again fiercely received by the Welſh; and the battle very probably ended in favour of the latter, hiſtory being ſilent as to the event and further progreſs of the invaſion.[2] A. D. 755.

At this time Offa reigned in Mercia.[3] A. D. 763.

The eaſineſs of approach to the fertile plains of South Wales invited continual inroads; and conſequently, that country was more harraſſed, and ſooner narrowed in its boundaries, than the mountainous territory A. D. 776. of North Wales. The inhabitants of South Wales, fired with reſentment at reiterated injuries, roſe up in arms, entered Mercia with fire and ſword, and retaliated on the Saxons their uſual devaſtations. They ſoon after made other ſucceſsful inroads; and obliging their enemies to retire beyond the Severn, returned into their own country with a conſiderable quantity of cattle. Allured by the proſpect of ſpoil, and animated by their late ſucceſs, inſtead of acting upon the defenſive, which had hitherto been the utmoſt exertion of the Welſh, a new plan of operation took place; a ſpirit of enterprize enſued; and by ſudden and frequent incurſions into Mercia, they enriched themſelves, avenged their national injuries, and filled the Saxon borders with continual alarm, and devaſtation.[1]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 188.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 18.

[3] Saxon Annal. p. 59.

THESE unuſual and formidable exertions in the Welſh induced Offa to enter into a league with the other Saxon princes; that with their united ſtrength they might at once deſtroy, or give a check to this enterpriſing ſpirit.[1] A conſiderable army, in conſequence, paſſed the Severn into Wales; but the Welſh, too weak to encounter ſo great a force, retreated to the mountains; and the Saxons likewiſe, unable to penetrate with advantage the natural fortifications of the country, returned into Mercia.[2] Offa, ſenſible of the evils produced by theſe inroads, and unable to prevent them, agreeably to the policy of his military anceſtors, planted a colony of Saxons in the country near the Severn* and Wye;[3] whoſe immediate intereſt it became, to confine to the mountains the valour and reſtleſs activity of the Welſh. To mark the confines of each country, or to give greater ſecurity to his own, he likewiſe cauſed a deep dyke and a high rampart to be made, which A. D. 780.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 19.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 19. [2] Ibid.

* *Hafren* and *Gwy*.

[3] Langhorni, Chron. Reg. Ang. p. 292.

extended a hundred miles over rocks and mountains, and acroſs deep vallies and rivers, from the water of Dee to the mouth of the Wye.[1] This great work ſtill retains the ancient name of Clawdh Offa, or Offa's Dyke; and is an evidence of the ignorance and barbariſm of the age, having been raiſed with immenſe labour, but directed to no important uſe, either to mark the boundaries, or as a line of defence between hoſtile nations. The large towns and cities ſituated to the eaſt of the Severn and Dee, were probably built at this period, to check the irruptions of the Welſh by a ſtrong line of frontier poſts.[2] The villages likewiſe on the eaſt ſide of Clawdh Offa, whoſe names terminate in *ton* or *ham*, were about this time inhabited by Saxons,[3] who were uſually called *Gwyr-y-mers*, or the men of Mercia; though in after times the Welſh ſettled on each ſide of the Dyke.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 19. Langhorni Chron. Ang. p. 292. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 51.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 26.

[3] Ibid. p. 51.

The change which this innovation had made in Powys, by narrowing its boundaries, and Shrewſbury having been lately taken by the Saxons, made it neceſſary to remove the royal reſidence of the princes of Powys, from that town to Mathraval,[2] ſituated in the preſent county of Montgomery.[3]

Though an interval of peace had given Offa the opportunity of finiſhing this celebrated Dyke, the Welſh were not inſenſible of the diſhonour and injury done to their country. But concealing their feelings under the maſk of indifference, they ſecretly concerted the plan of its deſtruction; and acting, by previous agreement, with the kings of Northumberland and of the South Saxons, with whom they were then in alliance, they ſuddenly beſet Clawdh Offa in the night of St. Stephen's day, the night itſelf being extremely dark; and aſſiſted alſo by the country people, they broke down the rampart, and in a ſhort time filled up and levelled the Dyke to the length of a bow-ſhot. Early in the morning, they aſſailed the camp of king Offa,[1] and ſlew great numbers of his ſoldiers; who, depending on the truce, were either aſleep or unarmed, or had given themſelves up to the pleaſures, or to the religious obſervance, of the feſtival.[2]

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 50.

[2] Its ancient name was Pengwern, or the head of a place where alders grow, and was the ſeat of the kings of Powys; whence the Saxon term Schrewſbury is derived. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 27.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

The Saxon prince inſtantly rallied his forces, and ruſhed into the midſt of the enemy; but his troops, all in confuſion and not properly armed, were intimidated, and could not ſuſtain the onſet of the Welſh; and it was not without great difficulty and ſlaughter, that they were able to bring off their leader, and recover their camp. On this diſaſter, Offa retired into his own dominions, meditating vengeance. The firſt impreſſion of his anger, on his return, for this inſulting violation of the truce, fell upon the hoſtages which were given by thoſe perſons who had lately broken the peace, whom he ordered to be more ſtrictly confined; and, ſtill unſatiſfied with this ſeverity, their wives and families alſo were either ſold, or reſerved for perpetual ſlavery.[1]

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[1] Suppoſed to be at Sutton Wallis near Hereford.

[2] Matth. Paris Monachi Albanenſis Vita Duorum Offarum Merciorum Regum, p. 975, 976.

Offa, ſtill breathing revenge, marched, ſome time after, into the confines of Wales, with a well equipped and formidable army; but for ſeveral years he was not able to make any impreſſion, being greatly annoyed by the Welſh; who, from their woods and mountains made continual irruptions upon his forces.[1] Both parties coming, at length, to a general engagement upon Rhudd-lan marſh, A. D. 795. the Welſh, under the command of Caradoc, a chieftain of the country, and deſcended from the houſe of Cornwall, were entirely defeated[2] with a dreadful ſlaughter; and their leader ſlain in the action.[3] Beſides this great loſs which the Welſh had ſuffered, the Saxon prince commanded all the children and the men, who unfortunately fell into his hands, to be maſſacred; the women ſcarcely eſcaping his fury.[4]

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[1] Matth. Paris Monachi Albanenſis, &c. p. 976.

The memory of this tragical event has been carried down to poſterity, by an ancient ballad called Morva Rhudd-lan, the notes of which are moſt tenderly plaintive.

[1] Matth. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 20.

[3] According to tradition, the remaining Welſh who had eſcaped the enemy's ſword, flying with precipitation over the marſh, periſhed in the water by the flowing of the tide.

[4] Matth. Paris vita Duorum Offarum, p. 976.

Soon after this memorable event, died Offa, king of Mercia.[1] Some hiſtorians ſay that he was ſlain in the battle of Rhudd-lan, with Meredyth the prince of Pembroke.*[2] A. D. 796.

It may not be unneceſſary here, after a tedious recital of inroads and battles, to give ſome relief to the reader's mind, by opening to his view the modes of life and private manners of the ancient Welſh.

We are indebted to Giraldus Cambrenſis, for the following very lively traits which he has tranſmitted of the manners of the Welſh nation; at a period when thoſe manners were pure and unadulterated by foreign intercourſe. And though this writer may, on ſome occaſions, ſink into credulous weakneſs, and be directed by a partial ſpirit, yet ſurely, in their great outlines, the repreſentations which he has given of manners, though himſelf a native of the country, muſt have been cloſely copied from original features, and muſt afford a ſtriking reſemblance of national character.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 20.

* *Dyfed.* [2] Camden's Britannia, Gibſon's Notes on Flintſhire, p. 690, from Mſs. of Vaughan Hengwrt.

The Welſh[1] were a nation light and active, and more fierce than ſtrong; from the loweſt to the higheſt of the people they were devoted to arms, which the plowman as well as the courtier was prepared to ſeize on the firſt ſummons. Their uſual cuſtom in works of huſbandry was, that for oats they opened the ſoil, once only in March or April; and for wheat or rye, they turned it up, twice in the ſummer, and a third time in winter about the ſeaſon of thraſhing.

The chief ſuſtenance of this people, in reſpect of their food, was cattle and oats, beſides milk, cheeſe, and butter; though they uſually ate more plentifully of fleſh meat than of bread.

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. cap. IV. V.

As they were not engaged in the occupations of traffic either by ſea or land, their time was entirely employed in military affairs. They were ſo anxious for the preſervation of their country and its liberties, that they eſteemed it delightful not only to fight for them, but even to ſacrifice their lives: and agreeably to this ſpirit, they entertained an idea, that it was a diſgrace to die in their beds, but an honour to fall in the field. Such was their eager courage, that although unarmed, they often dared to engage with men entirely covered with armour; and in ſuch engagements, by their activity and valour, they frequently came off conquerors. That their activity might not be impeded by any unneceſſary incumbrance, they made uſe of light armour; ſuch as ſmaller coats of mail, ſhields, and ſometimes of iron greaves. Their offenſive weapons were arrows and long ſpears. Their bows were uſually made of ſlight twigs joined or twiſted together, and though rude in their form, they diſcharged an arrow with great force. The people of North Wales were remarkable for ſpears ſo long and well pointed, that they could pierce through an iron coat of mail. The men of South Wales were accounted the moſt expert archers. The chieftains when they marched to war, were mounted on ſwift horſes, bred in the country; the lower ſorts of people, on account of the marſhes, as well as the inequalities of the ground, marched on foot to battle; though, whenever the occaſion or the place rendered it neceſſary for the purpoſes either of fighting or flying, the horſemen themſelves diſmounted and ſerved on foot.

The Welſh were accuſtomed to walk with their feet entirely bare; or, inſtead of ſhoes, they uſed boots of raw leather.

In the time of peace, the young men accuſtomed themſelves to penetrate the woods and thickets, and to run over the tops of mountains; and by continuing this exerciſe through the day and night, they prepared themſelves for the fatigues and employments of war.

These people were not given to exceſs either in eating or drinking. They had no ſet time appointed for their meals, nor any expenſive richneſs in their clothes. Their whole attention was occupied in the ſplendid appearance of their horſes and arms, in the defence of their country, and in the care of their plunder. Accuſtomed to faſt from morning to night, their minds were wholly employed on their buſineſs; they gave up the day entirely to prudent deliberations, and in the evening they partook of a ſober ſupper. But if, at any time, it happened, that they were not able to procure any, or only a very ſparing repaſt, they patiently waited until the next morning; and in this ſituation, prevented neither by hunger nor cold, they were eager to take advantage of dark and ſtormy nights for hoſtile invaſions.

There was not a beggar to be ſeen among theſe people, for the tables of all were common to all; and with them bounty, and particularly hoſpitable entertainment, were in higher eſtimation than any of the other virtues. Hoſpitality, indeed, was ſo much the habit of this nation, by a mutual return of ſuch civilities, that it was neither offered to, nor requeſted by, travellers. As ſoon as they entered any houſe, they immediately delivered their arms into the cuſtody of a perſon in the family; and if they ſuffered their feet to be waſhed by thoſe, who for that purpoſe directly offered them water, they were conſidered as lodgers for the night. The refuſal of this civility, intimated their deſire of a morning's refreſhment only. The offer of water for the purpoſe of waſhing the feet, was conſidered as an invitation to accept of hoſpitable entertainment. The young men uſually marched in parties, or in tribes, a leader being appointed to each; and as they were devoted to arms, or given up to leiſure, and were courageous in the defence of their country, they were permitted to enter the houſe of any perſon with the ſame ſecurity as their own. The ſtrangers, who arrived in the morning, were entertained until evening with the converſation of young women, and with the muſic of the harp; for in this country almoſt every houſe was provided with both. Hence we may reaſonably conclude, that the people were not much inclined to jealouſy. Such an influence had the habit of muſic on their minds, and its faſcinating powers, that in every family, or in every tribe, they eſteemed ſkill in playing on the harp beyond any kind of learning.

In the evening, when the viſitors were arrived, an entertainment was provided according to the number and dignity of the perſons, and the wealth of the houſe; on which occaſion the cook was not fatigued with dreſſing many diſhes, nor ſuch as were high ſeaſoned as ſtimulatives to gluttony;

nor was the houſe furniſhed with tables, napkins, or towels; for in all theſe things they ſtudied nature more than ſhew. The gueſts were placed by *threes* at ſupper, and the diſhes at the ſame time were put on ruſhes, in large and ample platters made of clean graſs, with thin and broad cakes of bread, baked every day. At the ſame time that the whole family, with a kind of emulation in their civilities, were in waiting; the maſter and miſtreſs in particular were always ſtanding, very attentively overlooking the whole. When the hour of ſleep approached, they all lay down in common on the public bed, ranged lengthwiſe along the ſides of the room; a few ruſhes being ſtrewed on the floor, and covered only with a coarſe cloth, the produce of the country. The ſame garb that the people were uſed to wear in the day, ſerved them alſo in the night; and this conſiſted of a thin mantle, and a garment or ſhirt worn next to the ſkin. The fire was kept burning at their feet throughout the night, as well as in the day.

The women of this nation, as well as the men, had their hair cut round at the ears and eyes. The women alſo, as a head dreſs, wore a large white robe, folding round, and riſing by degrees into a graceful tuft or crown. Both the men and the women were exceedingly attentive to the preſervation of their teeth; by conſtantly rubbing them with green hazel, probably the leaves or bark, and cleaning them with a woollen cloth, they kept their teeth as white as ivory; and to preſerve them ſtill more, they abſtained from every kind of hot food. The men were accuſtomed to ſhave the whole beard, leaving only a whiſker on the upper lip; they likewiſe cut ſhort or ſhaved the hair of their heads, that it might be no impediment to their activity in paſſing through the thick woods and foreſts that covered their country.

The Welſh, according to Giraldus, were a people of an acute and ſubtle genius. In civil cauſes and actions, they exerted all the powers of rhetoric; and, in the conduct of theſe, their talents for inſinuation, invention, and refutation were conſpicuous. In rhythmical ſongs, and in extemporary effuſions, they are ſaid to be excellent, both in reſpect to invention and elegance of ſtyle; and for theſe purpoſes bards were appointed. But beyond all other rhetorical ornaments they preferred the uſe of alliteration; and that kind more eſpecially which repeats the firſt letters or ſyllables of words. They made ſo much uſe of this ornament in every finiſhed diſcourſe, that they thought nothing elegantly ſpoken without it.

In private company, or in ſeaſons of public feſtivity, they were very facetious in their converſation; with a view of entertaining the company and diſplaying their own wit. And perſons of lively parts, ſometimes in mild and ſometimes in ſarcaſtic terms, under the cover of a double meaning, by a peculiar turn of voice, or by the tranſpoſition of words, were continually uttering humorous, or ſatirical expreſſions.

The loweſt of the people, as well as the chieftains, were indebted to nature for a certain boldneſs in ſpeech, and an honeſt confidence in giving anſwers to great men on matters of buſineſs, or in the preſence of princes.

There were among the Welſh certain perſons whom they called *Awenydhion*, a word expreſſive of poetical raptures. Theſe perſons, when conſulted about any thing doubtful, inflamed with a high degree of enthuſiaſm, were, to all appearance, carried out of themſelves; and ſeemed as if they were poſſeſſed by an inviſible ſpirit. Yet they did not immediately declare a ſolution of the difficulty required; but by the power of wild and inconſiſtent circumlocution, in which they abounded, any perſon who obſerved the anſwer would at length, by ſome turn or digreſſion in the ſpeech, receive, or fancy that he did, an explanation of what he ſought. From this ſtate of extacy they were at laſt rouſed, as from a deep ſleep; and were compelled, as it were, by the violence of others, to return to their natural ſtate. Another thing, it is ſaid, was peculiar to theſe perſons; that when they recovered their reaſon they did not recollect any of thoſe things which in their extacy they had uttered. And if it happened that they were again conſulted about the ſame or any other thing, they would be certain to expreſs themſelves in other and far different words. This property was beſtowed upon them, as they fancied, in their ſleep; at which time, according to Giraldus, it appeared to ſome of them as if new milk or honey was poured into their mouths; to others as if a written ſcroll had been put into their mouths; and on their awaking, they publicly profeſſed that they had been endowed with theſe extraordinary gifts. This imaginary ſpirit of divination, has been alſo in much uſage in the highlands of Scotland, and is there known under the expreſſive term of *Second Sight*.

Pride of anceſtry and nobility of family were points held in the higheſt eſtimation among the Welſh; and of courſe they were far more deſirous of noble than of rich and ſplendid marriages. So deeply rooted was this ſpirit, that even the very loweſt of the people carefully preſerved the genealogy of their families; and were able from memory to recite the names, not only of their immediate anceſtors, but to the ſixth and ſeventh generation, and even to trace them ſtill farther back; in this manner, Rhys ap Gryffydh, ap Rhys, ap Tewdwr, ap Einion, ap Owen, ap Howel, ap Cadell, ap Roderic the Great.*

A welshman was conſidered as honourable, if among his anceſtors there had been

* The royal line of South Wales.

neither ſlave, nor foreigner, nor infamous perſon.[1] Yet if any foreigner had ſaved the life of a Welſhman, or delivered him from captivity, he might be naturalized, and was entitled to the rights of Welſhmen. And any foreign family, having reſided in Wales for four generations, were alſo admitted to the ſame privileges.[2]

The love which they felt for family connections was eager and warm; and of conſequence they were keen in their reſentments, and revenged deeply any injury committed on their family either of blood or diſhonour. They were vindictive and cruel in their anger; and exceedingly prompt to revenge not only recent injuries, but thoſe which had been committed a long time paſt, and even in a remote period. What ſpread ſtill farther this ſpirit of revenge, was a cuſtom prevalent among the Welſh, of ſending their children to be nurſed in other families. Theſe families, in conſequence, took under their protection the children they had foſtered; and always conſidered it as a high obligation on themſelves, to promote their intereſts, and to revenge their injuries. This cuſtom, it is probable, principally prevailed in the families of chieftains and princes.[1]

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[1] Howel Dha's Laws.

[2] Ibid.

The Welſh did not reſide in cities, villages, or camps, but, in general, led a ſolitary life in the woods.

On the borders of their foreſts, it was uſual, not to raiſe great palaces, nor ſumptuous houſes built with ſtone; but only to twiſt together ozier coverings, ſuited to the different ſeaſons of the year, with as little labour as expence. But theſe dwellings muſt certainly have been confined to the lower orders of the people. They were accuſtomed neither to orchards nor gardens. Their fields were moſtly in paſture; little cultivated, ſeldom plowed, and ſcarcely ever ſown or planted. Yet the Welſh, ſenſible of the great utility of agriculture, inſtituted a kind of plowing ſociety; which conſiſted of perſons who contributed oxen and implements of huſbandry, for the purpoſe of tilling a ſtipulated quantity of ground. To this uſeful deſign, great encouragement was given by the Welſh laws.[1] To their ploughs and carts they ſometimes joined two oxen, but more frequently made uſe of four; the driver going before, and, what is very ſingular, uſually walking backwards; and on that account, if the oxen were not properly trained to the yoke, he was expoſed to great danger. They made very little uſe of the ſcythe or ſickle either to mow or reap; but employed a ſingular kind of inſtrument, a middle ſized iron in the ſhape of a pruning knife, chained looſely at each end to two ſtaves.

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[1] Hiſt. of Gwedir family.

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[1] Howel Dha's Laws.

They uſed likewiſe ſmall boats[1] made of ozier for the purpoſes of fiſhing, or of paſſing rivers. Theſe were not of an oblong form, had not any beaks, but were made nearly round, or rather of a triangular ſhape; and were covered both in the inſide and on the outſide with raw ſkins. The boats were ſo light, that the fiſhermen uſually carried them on their ſhoulders.

The Welſh were firſt inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by Faganus and Damianus; who were ſent by Eleutherius, the biſhop of Rome, at the requeſt of king Lucius. From this period, to the time when St. Germain was ſent into Britain on account of the Pelagian doctrine, no heretical opinions were to be found in Wales. Agreeably to the doctrines received from that miſſionary, they gave to the poor a part of the bread which was ſerved up at the altar; and they ſat down to table by *threes* in honour of the Trinity. Whenever they met any perſon in a religious habit, ſuch as a monk, or clerk; they immediately threw down their arms, bowed their heads, and begged his bleſſing. To mark the religious ſpirit of his countrymen ſtill more, Giraldus ſays, that the Welſh were more eager to obtain epiſcopal confirmation, and the chriſm, by which the ſpirit was given, than any other nation. They gave the tenth of all that they poſſeſſed of animals, ſheep, and ſometimes of cattle, in the following caſes; whenever they engaged in a military marriage; when they firſt ſet out on a pilgrimage; or, by the remonſtrance of the church, whenever they made any amendment in their lives. This diviſion of their property they called the Great Tithe; two parts of which they beſtowed on their own baptiſmal church, and a third was given to the biſhop of the dioceſe. The pilgrimage which above all others was deemed moſt ſacred by the Welſh, was a journey to Rome. They paid alſo great reverence to churches, and to the clergy; to the relics of ſaints, to their portable bells, to text books, and to the croſs.[1]

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[1] Theſe kind of boats are ſtill uſed in Wales, and are called corricles.

From this ſpirit of ſuperſtitious piety, very peculiar privileges of ſanctuary have been given to the Welſh churches. Not only in cemeteries or burial places, but within the precincts of certain boundaries appointed by the biſhop, all animals had the liberty of feeding in perfect ſecurity. The larger churches, endowed with greater privileges on account of their antiquity, extended their bounds of ſanctuary ſtill farther; as far as the cattle could go in the morning and return at night. So ſacred were the privileges of ſanctuary, that if any perſon, at enmity with his ſovereign, ſought the refuge of the church; his own perſon, his family, and all his property remained in the moſt perfect ſecurity. If any attempt was made to violate the ſanctuary, it appears, that the parties under its protection, might retaliate the injury even on the prince himſelf, and might commit depredations in the country.[1]

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[1] As a proof of the religious ſpirit which about this time prevailed, three thouſand Welſh, the moſt expert in archery and in the uſe of the pike, engaged to go into the Holy Land, at the inſtance of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; who, accompanied by Giraldus Cambrenſis, preached the Croiſades in the year 1188 throughout Wales. Giraldus Camb. Itinerarii Camb. cap. XIII. p. 226.

It was neceſſary on the acceſſion of the king, that the proprietors of eccleſiaſtical lands ſhould appear before him, to lay open their rights and privileges; to whom, if their claims were juſt, he confirmed thoſe privileges, and the rights of ſanctuary.[2] If any offender fled to ſanctuary, and an action was inſtituted againſt him, neither the abbot nor monks could protect him, until he had made ſatisfaction for his offence; if no ſuch action was brought, they were then to conduct him to the place in which he was to remain.[1] If any perſon, taking refuge in a ſanctuary, committed any criminal act, he loſt the privileges of that aſylum, and was obliged to fly into another ſanctuary; or to forfeit all his property to the religious place whoſe protection he had violated. If any perſon, carrying about him the relics of ſaints, committed a crime under their protection, he was not entitled to any privileges on their account; and in ſuch caſe, likewiſe, he forfeited all his goods to that aſylum, unleſs he had already procured another.[2] Any perſon who had taken ſanctuary, might freely go about the cemetry and the court of the church, without carrying relics; and his cattle might feed with thoſe of the monaſtry, and remain in ſecurity as far as the herds of the monaſtry were allowed to go. Diſputes concerning the property of lands, when both parties were eccleſiaſtics, were not cogniſable by the Welſh laws.[1]

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[1] Thus far from Giraldus Cambrenſis, (Cambriæ Deſcriptio, from p. 254 to 275) a learned monk, who lived in the reign of Henry the ſecond, and was a native of South Wales. In this detail of manners, the author has given little more than a ſimple tranſcript of Giraldus, with ſcarcely any variations of his own; under the idea that ſuch delineations, ſtruck off by the pencil of a contemporary, would appear more pleaſing in their original colours, and native ſimplicity.

[2] Howel Dha's Laws.

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[1] Howel Dha's Laws.

[2] Ibid.

If the king granted a licence to build a church in any village whoſe inhabitants were villains, to which a cemetry was aſſigned; and prieſts were appointed to celebrate maſs, the village from that time became free.[2] The hermits and other *Aſcetics* in this country, were in a peculiar degree auſtere in the habits of mortification; and, according to Giraldus, were more ſpiritualiſed in their piety than the Religious of any other nation. The ſame writer ſums up the character of his countrymen, in a manner equally peculiar and deciſive. He ſays, that as it was the diſpoſition of that people to purſue every object with vehemence, none were elſewhere to be found ſo bad as the worſt, nor any better than the good among the Welſh.[1]

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[1] Howel Dha's Laws.

[2] Ibid.

It was natural that a warlike people would employ their leiſure, during the ſhort intervals of peace, in the habits of domeſtic feſtivity, or in the pleaſures of the field. A variety of exerciſes, ſome more violent, others more gentle in their nature, were in common uſe among the Welſh. Of theſe, many of which were the more peculiar diverſions of men, were feats of ſtrength; namely, pitching a bar of iron, throwing a ſledge, a large ſtone or quoits, running, leaping, ſwimming, wreſtling, riding, archery and throwing the javelin; fencing with ſword and buckler, the two handed ſword, and playing with the quarter ſtaff. There were ſeveral other diverſions conſidered as rural ſports, and as leſs manly; ſuch as hunting, fiſhing, and bird hunting; beſides which ſundry others were uſed in families as private amuſements, and conſidered as literary; ſuch as poetry, playing on the harp, reading Welſh, ſinging poems accompanied by ſtringed inſtruments; ſinging an ode of four parts, and accenting it with proper expreſſion; heraldry, and embaſſy. Other amuſements were in uſe of a more ſedate kind, which employed their more tranquil hours; cheſs, draughts and back-gammon, or ſome ſimilar game; dice, and tuning the harp. Beſides theſe, there were various modes of hunting, diſtinguiſhed in the following manner. Hunting the ſtag, purſuing a ſwarm of bees, and taking ſalmon; theſe three were deemed common diverſions. Hunting the bear, the ſquirrel, or martin, and the cock of the wood,[1] were called barking diverſions. Hunting the fox, the hare, and the roebuck,[2] were diſtinguiſhed as clamorous ones. The ſtag was hunted with hounds and greyhounds; and this was called a common diverſion, becauſe every perſon who was at his death had a right to a ſhare. Even if a man on his journey happened to paſs by at the time that the ſtag was killed, he was entitled by the game laws to a ſhare in common with thoſe who had hunted him down. A ſwarm of bees was likewiſe conſidered as a common property; for whoever found them on his own, or on other people's land, unleſs he put a mark that he had firſt found them, every perſon who paſſed by had a right to enjoy a ſhare; but a fourth part belonged to the proprietor of the ground. The ſalmon were alſo conſidered in the ſame light. For when they were caught with a net, or ſtruck with a ſpear, or taken in any other way; whatever perſon ſhould come to the place, before a diviſion was made, was entitled to a part, provided the ſalmon was taken out of a common water.

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis, p. 275.

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[1] See Mr. Pennant's journey to Snowdun.

[2] Iwrch or roebuck, ſaid to have been formerly in Wales. See Richard's Welſh Dictionary on that word; and Gibſon's notes on Camden, p. 645.

Hunting the bear was called a barking diverſion, becauſe from its ſlowneſs the hunting of it could be of no long continuance; as it was only baited, barked at, and killed. The martin,[1] fitchet, polecat,[2] and ſquirrel, not being able to run far, climbed up into trees, and in that ſituation were barked at and baited by the dogs. Hunting the cock of the wood[3] was entirely ſimilar.

Fox hunting was called a clamorous diverſion; as in the purſuit of this animal there was much crying of the dogs, and blowing of the horn. Of the ſame nature were the diverſions of roebuck and hare hunting.

The game that was moſt in eſteem for the uſe of the table, was the ſtag, the hare, the wild boar, and the bear. If greyhounds were let looſe after a ſtag or any other animal, and the dogs purſued him out of ſight, and he was afterwards killed; then the foremoſt greyhound in the laſt view was entitled to the ſkin. If a man, or a dog, ſtarted a hare out of her ſeat and killed her, ſhe was the property of either the one or the other.

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[1] Bela.

[2] Câthgoed.

[3] See Mr. Pennant's Journey to Snowdun.

It was neceſſary that every perſon who carried a horn ſhould be acquainted with the nine game laws. If he was unable to give an account of them, he forfeited his horn. Whoever went out a hunting with couples, forfeited thoſe likewiſe, if he was found deficient in a knowledge of the ſaid laws; but, whimſically enough, the couples were ſafe, if placed on his arm. No perſon could let looſe a greyhound after any animal, which the hounds were then hunting, unleſs he himſelf had hounds that were hunting at the ſame time; and on any perſon ſo offending, the man who was purſuing the hare, might hamſtring the greyhound. No one was allowed to ſhoot a beaſt, when at reſt, that was appropriated for the chace, on pain of forfeiting his bow and arrows to the lord of the manor: though he might ſhoot at and kill any ſuch, if he could, when the dogs were in full cry; but he was not allowed to ſhoot among the dogs. If any perſon went out to hunt, and let his dogs looſe after the beaſt; and it ſo happened that he was met with and killed by ſome ſtraggling dogs, the animal was then the property of the firſt dogs, unleſs the ſtraggling ones belonged to the king. Any beaſt which had been hunted, became the property of the firſt hunter, unleſs his face was turned towards home, and his back on the dogs. If his dogs were ſtill hunting, and the hunter had left them, the animal did not in that caſe belong to him, if killed by ſtraggling dogs, but to the owner of the latter.[*]

Some light may be thrown on the ancient adminiſtration of Wales, by laying open the various conditions, on which the Welſh held their eſtates under their princes, or immediate lords; and by ſhewing in what manner the revenue, ariſing from thoſe tenures, was directed to the ſplendour, or ſupport of their government.

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[*] See an account of the Welſh games, printed at the end of Dr. Davies's Dictionary. He died in the year 1644; he was himſelf a native of Wales, and was much eſteemed by his countrymen, for his knowledge of its language and antiquities.

We ſhall begin, by marking the ſmaller diviſions, which at that time, it is probable, had taken place in the country. In the leſſer diviſions, Wales might have been originally divided into *Bôds*, *Trevs*, and *Caers*. The *Bôd* is ſuppoſed to have been the manſion-houſe of a chieftain on his firſt ſettlement in the country; the lands which he aſſigned for the maintenance of his dependents in the increaſing colony to have been called a *Trev*; and the incloſure of ſuch lands, for defence or convenience, whether formed of wood or ſtone, might have been denominated a *Caer*.[1] An aſſemblage of ſeveral *bôds* formed a *trev* or townſhip; a hundred of theſe *trevs* conſtituted a *cantrev*. For the more eaſy and regular diſpatch of buſineſs, a *cantrev* was divided into two or more *commots*; each of which, conſiſting of a certain number of *bôds* and *trevs*, formed a diſtinct precinct; and was conſidered as a lordſhip, poſſeſſing a ſeparate court and juriſdiction.[1]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 28, 29, 31.

The Welſh princes, and other lords of particular territories, were the proprietors *in capite* of all lands; and were ſovereign lords of all their ſubjects and bondmen. To theſe, the princes or the lords diſtributed townſhips, or particular tenures called Weles, ſeats or dwellings; by way of martial diſtribution, on ſuch conditions as thoſe lords and princes thought proper to impoſe. The lands or tenures ſo granted, were either freeholds or villanage; and the perſons to whom they were given were called freeholders or vaſſals; each were equally tenants to their lord; though in reſpect of privileges originally granted,

[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 116.

they were in poſſeſſion of different degrees of freedom or vaſſalage. Some of theſe were entirely free, and others were entirely bond; ſome townſhips in part were free, and in part were bond. In theſe ſeveral townſhips, a greater or leſs degree of freedom prevailed, or none at all; the tenants of the firſt kind of vaſſalage were called *nativi liberi*; that is, free natives, or the better ſort of vaſſals; and the others were conſidered as *puri nativi*, or perfect ſlaves.

Those lands or townſhips which were entirely free, gave to the poſſeſſors a rank above other tenants; qualified them for offices and employments, and entitled them likewiſe to a ſeat and a voice in courts of judicature. From this privilege of ſitting higher than the other tenants in their *Gorſeddau*, and of aſſiſting in giving ſentence, and paſſing judicial decrees, the tenants of theſe freeholds were called *Uchelwyr*. The king excepted, there was an equality among all the Welſh nobility.[1]

The tenants of bond lands, and villages, being inferior to freeholders, were bound to ſervile employments; and in many things were at the diſpoſal of their princes or lords. A lord had the privilege of parting with his vaſſal either by ſale or donation. There was, however, a diſtinction in point of privilege between ſuch tenants. The free natives were thoſe who poſſeſſed ſome degree of freedom; who might go where they pleaſed, might buy and ſell, and enjoyed many other immunities. The pure natives were conſidered as the entire property of their princes or lords; were ſold along with the eſtate, and confined within its limits; out of which, if they happened to wander, they were liable to be driven back like wild beaſts with great ſeverity.[2] The profeſſion of any of the mechanic or liberal arts made a vaſſal free; but no vaſſal could acquire them without the permiſſion of his lord.[1]

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[1] Howel Dha's Laws.

[2] Rowland, p. 120, 121.

The *trevs* were not all of equal dimenſion; ſome were of a larger and others of a leſſer extent; but they were all ſubject to certain conditions to be paid to their lords, which were rated and fixed at the firſt diſpoſal of thoſe tenures. Theſe were rents, ſervices, duties, mulcts, and attendances. Such were their great ſources of revenue and of power; and from which the Welſh princes were enabled to ſupport their dignity, to ſecure the loyalty of their ſubjects, and afford protection to the ſtate.[2]

The rents of ſome tenures were paid in money, thoſe of others were paid in goods and in cattle. Rents in money were fixed to be paid, either at the four quarterly payments, or the two half yearly ones; or they aroſe out of caſualties; ſuch as reliefs and heriots. The rents which were paid in goods and cattle, were a certain quantity of corn, paid at ſtated times, or a certain number of oxen and cows; which many *trevs* were obliged to pay at the end of the year. The *Tunc* rent, was a ſum of money payable by four villain townſhips in every *commot*, of five ſhillings a year ceſſable on particular *trevs*. Rents of ſome kind or other were originally fixed to be ceſſable on all tenures whether free or bond, ſimilar to the Engliſh ſoccage tenures.

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[1] Howel Dha's Laws. [2] Rowland's Mona, p. 121.

The freeholder had a legal right in the property of his land, on the performance of the ſtipulated conditions; but that right might be forfeited, in certain caſes, to the prince or lord of the fee.

The villains or vaſſals, who were the tenants of the villanages, had no property in the lands aſſigned them; but enjoyed only the occupancy and poſſeſſion of them during the pleaſure of the prince or lord; they being conſidered only as ſlaves, to be placed in any ſituation at the will of their maſters. They paid however a rent to their lord; and thoſe rents which were charged on villain tenures were preciſe and ſtated; and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on certain and fixed days.[a]

The nature of thoſe ſervices, which the ſeveral *trevs*, or the particular tenures in every manor, were obliged to perform, is here attempted to be explained. In general, the prince had a *Llys* or palace in every *cantrev*; a chapel likewiſe, with the neceſſary appendages of mills, offices, and other conveniencies. In ſupport of theſe, the ſervices of tenants in the *cantrev* where the palace was built, were appropriated in various ways; and the lands belonging to the palace were parcelled out to tenants, on the conditions of performing ſuch private and domeſtic ſervices. Thoſe tenants were called in many places *Gwyr Mael, Gwyr tîr y Porth*, and *Gwyr Gwaith*. The ſervice under the title of *Gwyr Mael*, is ſuppoſed to have been the prince's local guard; who were obliged to arm themſelves, and to keep watch and ward about the palace. The ſervice bearing the name of *Gwyr tîr y Porth*, was to cultivate the corn lands, reſerved by the prince in every manor for his corn proviſion. The duty implied by *Gwyr Gwaith*, was an obligation on particular tenants of working for the prince at their own charge. The remaining tenants were obliged to repair the walls of the palace, or the hall, the chapel, or other appendages of the prince's houſe. In every *cantrev*, there were ſome tenants bound by their tenures to carry ſtones, or corn; to repair the roof of a mill, the walls, and the water-courſe; to carry large ſtones and pieces of timber for the uſes of the mill. Some tenants, alſo, by their tenures, were obliged to repair weirs, to carry wattles and bruſh wood, to hedge about warrens, and ſome to attend the offices of the larder and kitchen.[1]

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[a] Rowland's Mona, p. 122, 123.

The duties, which were due from other tenants, whether free or bond, to the prince or the lord, were various; and both of a civil and military nature. They were obliged to appear in the court of the prince, whenever they received a ſummons; which without great peril they could not diſobey. They were under obligation to appear in the court of the *cantrev* in which they reſided. Their appearance was equally neceſſary in the county court.[2] This was their great court of common pleas, and of high authority: its juriſdiction extended over the whole diſtrict. They were obliged to grind their corn at a particular mill, and to pay as a griſt-toll the thirtieth part; which appears to have been very conſiderable, when it is conſidered that the repairs of the mill lay entirely upon the tenants. Thoſe who were not concerned in theſe repairs, were yet obliged to make and to clear the water-courſes belonging to it; beſides the different kinds of carriage that were impoſed on them, eſpecially the conveyance of corn; which was for the uſe, or was the immediate property of the prince.

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[1] Rowland, p. 124, 125.

[2] So Rowland calls it.

The tenants in common were obliged to array, and to follow the prince to war whenever they were ſummoned for that purpoſe. This was a general obligation, equally impoſed on the nobility and on the people at large. The ſame duties were likewiſe due from the tenants of inferior diſtricts to their reſpective and immediate lords. This obligation of attending their prince or lord in war was not equal upon all; ſome tenants were only liable to go for a limited time, and to a limited place; while others were obliged to give their attendance during the war, without any limitation, equipped and maintained at their own expence. This duty, ſo indefinite and peremptory, was called *Gwaith Milwyr*; and no doubt was a kind of knight's ſervice.[1]

There were five other duties, of a civil nature, incident to particular tenures. The nature of thoſe duties are not certainly known at this diſtance of time; but they may perhaps be explained in the following manner. The courts of the Welſh princes being ambulatory, removing from manor to manor, and not fixed to any certain place; their houſes likewiſe being inſufficient to hold the numerous retinue which uſually attended the prince; it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a ſuitable proviſion was every where made for their reception and maintenance. The tenants of that manor, in which the prince came to reſide for a certain time, were obliged of courſe to receive, and to ſupport ſo many of the prince's officers and ſervants, as each of them was under the obligation of performing; agreeably to the conditions ſtipulated in their reſpective tenures. Such, it is probable, was the duty called *Cylch Stalon*, of entertaining the prince's grooms, and finding proviſion for ſo many of his horſes, for ſuch a time, and by ſuch tenants of the manor, as were ſpecified in the tenures of each. So, likewiſe, *Cylch Rhaglon*, was the obligation of entertaining the prince's ſteward, by ſuch and ſo many of the tenants as were obliged, each in his turn to receive that officer. *Cylch Hebogyddion*, was another duty of providing for the prince's falconers and his hawks. *Cylch Greorion*, as it was called, was the obligation of entertaining by turns, on each tenant for a limited time, the keepers of the prince's live ſtock and cattle; ſuch, it is probable, as were deſigned for ſlaughter, for the uſe of the royal houſehold, while the prince reſided in the manor. This was afterwards commuted for, by the payment of a certain ſum of money, called *Arian Greorion*. The laſt duty ſtiled *Cylch Dowrgon*, was the obligation on certain tenants, by turns, to receive, and provide for the huntſman and his dogs; during the prince's reſidence, or when he came for the purpoſe of hunting in any *trev* or manor. It is probable, that when the prince of Wales did not make his progreſs among his tenants at the uſual times, they paid him, in lieu of ſuch duties, a ſum of money, which was called *Arian Gweſtva.*[1]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 126.

THREE ſpecies of mulcts were another ſource of revenue ariſing to the prince, and incident to particular tenures. *Amwobr* was a mulct of five or ten ſhillings, payable by particular *trevs* and *gavels*, for the incontinency of women.[2] It was alſo a fine anciently paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter.[3]

Obediw, was a ſum of money rated on ſeveral *trevs*; and payable to the prince or chief lord, as a mortuary for the death of a tenant. This was ſometimes called *Obediw Dietifedd*; when a ſum of money was payable to the prince or lord, for a tenant dying without iſſue. *Gwobr*, was a mulct of ten ſhillings, paid to the prince or lord on the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter. This is ſaid to be a commutation in lieu of that barbarous cuſtom, that was in uſe in the times of Paganiſm; of the right which the lord had of deflouring a virgin on the firſt night of her marriage with a vaſſal.[1]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 128, 129. Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *gweſtva*.

[2] Rowland, p. 129.

[3] Dr. Davies's Dictionary on the word *amwobr*.

As the lower ſorts of people were liable to perform certain ſervices to their prince or lord, ſo the nobility were bound by the expreſs conditions of their reſpective fees, to pay attendance to their ſovereign prince. This attendance was different, according to the ſeveral occaſions of the prince in peace or in war. Theſe lords had likewiſe under them, freehold and vaſſal tenants; over whom they themſelves were lords in fee. Depending on thoſe conditions, the nobility had offices and truſts both civil and military conferred upon them; as well as titles that were miniſterial and honorary.[1] The family of Hwfa ap Cynddelw, of Preſaddfed in Angleſey, held their eſtates in fee; on the condition of attending the prince's coronation, and of bearing up the right ſide of the canopy over his head. The biſhop of Bangor, likewiſe, enjoyed ſome advantage, by his peculiar office of crowning the prince, and of being his principal chaplain. In the ſame manner, moſt of the nobility were bound to particular attendances by the expreſs conditions of their land tenures; beſides thoſe particular duties which they in general were obliged to perform as ſubjects by homage and fealty. When properly ſummoned, if the nobility neglected to perform theſe conditions, their eſtates were liable to forfeiture, and their perſons to be baniſhed the realm. This mode of puniſhment, by baniſhing the offender, was moſt commonly uſed by the Welſh princes.[1]

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[1] Rowland, p. 130.

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[1] Rowland, p. 130.

There were many tenures in Wales,[2] which were held of neither prince nor lord; but under certain ſaints, or patrons of churches; the tenants of which lands called themſelves abbots. As moſt of theſe ſaints had the privileges of ſanctuary originally eſtabliſhed in them, it is probable, that one condition of thoſe tenures was, to maintain and ſupport theſe places of refuge, and the perſons protected in them; and likewiſe to ſee that their privileges, with other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preſerved and kept inviolate.[3]

The princes of Wales uſually wore on their bonnets or helmets a coronet of gold;

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[1] Rowland's Mon. p. 131.

[2] Theſe notices of the ſeveral diviſions of the country are taken from the reports given in upon oath by thoſe men, who were appointed by Edward the Firſt for aſcertaining the princes rights, and the tenures in Wales.

[3] Rowland's Mon. p. 132.

being a broad lace or headband indented upwards, and ſet with precious ſtones.[1]

From the few traits which are here given of the private manners and cuſtoms of the ancient Welſh, we may form a lively idea of their genius; and may alſo diſcriminate what was peculiar in their national character. Hence, too, we are enabled to account for a variety of ſplendid actions which ſtrike our wonder; and intereſt our feelings for the fate of a brave people, who were ſo often thrown into ſituations, ſudden and rapid in their changes, and which appear to be ſingular in the hiſtory of nations.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 36. The illegitimate children of the princes of Wales were not allowed to bear their father's arms; and if permitted, yet not without carrying on them ſome marks of peculiarity. Britiſh Ant. revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 31.

There was ſomething in the Saxon character, ſo little ſuſceptible of thoſe impreſſions which poliſh and humanize the rudeſt natures, that even at this period they retained their native barbariſm. And as the Welſh, confined in narrow limits, were ſcarcely conſidered as objects of fear, the Saxon princes turned their arms againſt each other;[1] giving their enemies the vindictive conſolation of ſeeing the miſeries of war retaliated on themſelves. Theſe calamities were likewiſe increaſed by the Danes; who began, about A. D. 801. this time, to infeſt the coaſts of Britain.[2] And the Welſh, no doubt, would have ſeen with pleaſure the effects of a ſtorm, beginning to burſt upon the heads of their enemies, if they themſelves had not been equally liable to the danger. But as a means of ſecurity, warned by the fatal remiſſneſs of the Saxons, they with great ſecrecy and diligence increaſed their naval force; reaſonably expecting by ſuch a force to repel the Daniſh invaſions; or, it is probable, in caſe of neceſſity they might hope to ſecure a retreat.[1]

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 13.

[2] Verſtegan, chap. VI. p. 155. Welſh Chron. p. 20. Saxon Chron. p. 64.

In the courſe of their incurſions the city of St. David was laid in aſhes by the Saxons; and that event was preceded by an eclipſe of the ſun and moon; a terrible diſtemper like- A. D. 808.
wiſe ſeized upon cattle;[2] and the next year the city of Diganwy was deſtroyed by lightning.[3] Theſe incidents, ariſing from natural cauſes, were marked by ſuperſtition as preſages of national calamity. From this time,[4] Diganwy ceaſed to be the reſidence of the kings of North Wales.

In right of that equal diſtribution of property which took place in Wales by the cuſtom of gavel kind, Howel, the younger ſon of the late king Roderic Moelwynoc, laid

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[1] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. p. 61. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 21.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 66. [4] Ibid. p. 67.

claim to the iſland of Mona, as his part of his father's inheritance. This claim was diſputed by Cynan Tindaethwy, the reigning prince, and his eldeſt brother; and each ſide prepared to put it to the deciſion of arms; but a victory, ſoon after gained by Howel, gave him the poſſeſſion of the iſland. The two princes, the one eager to maintain his patrimony, and the other to recover the territory which had been torn from him, oppoſed each other a ſecond time; but with the ſame event, the battle ending in favour of Howel.[1] Enraged at theſe defeats, Cynan Tindaethwy was determined, by a vigorous effort, at every hazard of his crown and his life, to recover the iſland and the reputation of his arms. In purſuance of this reſolution, he raiſed an
A. D. 817. army and marched againſt his brother; but Howel, ſeeing himſelf unable to oppoſe a force ſuperior to his own, withdrew from the conflict, and eſcaped to the iſland of Man; leaving Mona in the poſſeſſion of the conqueror.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 21, 22.

[2] Ibid. p. 22.

Cynan Tindaethwy did not long enjoy the fruits of his good fortune; for he died ſoon after, and left the kingdom of North Wales to Eſyllt his daughter; married to Mervyn Vrych, the king of Man, and a deſcendant, by the maternal line, from the houſe of Powys.[1]

On the death of the late prince, Mervyn Vrych and Eſyllt, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales;[2] annexing the Iſland of Man to their other dominions.[3]

In the early part of their reign,[4] Egbert king of the Weſt Saxons invaded Wales with a powerful army; deſolated the country as far as the mountains of Snowdun,[5] and A. D. 819.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 22.

[2] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 188. [3] Ibid. p. 173.

[4] Matth. Weſtm. p. 224, 227, recites three different invaſions of Wales by Egbert, in which he ſubdued that country, and made its kings tributary, A. D. 810, 811, 830.

[5] *Yryri* in the Welſh, ſignifying mountains of ſnow. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 65.

ſeiſed on the lordſhip of Rhyvonioc.[1] He then advanced to Mona, and took poſſeſſion of that iſland, having fought a bloody battle with the Welſh at Llanvaes near Beaumaris;[2] and though the iſland was ſoon recovered by king Mervyn, and the Saxons were driven out, it loſt at this period the ancient name of Mona; and was afterwards by the Engliſh called Angleſey, or the Engliſhmen's Iſle.[3] This formidable inroad was no ſooner over, as if the Welſh were to enjoy no interval of peace, than Kenulph, king of Mercia, in two ſucceſſive inroads, committed great devaſtation in Weſt Wales and in Powys.[4]

The valour and the policy of Egbert, at A. D. 828. this period, had united the Saxon heptarchy into one kingdom.[5] And ſuch an union, under a vigorous adminiſtration, might have proved fatal to the Welſh; if the attention of the Saxon prince had not been diverted from foreign conqueſts to the ſecurity of his own territories. To conſolidate more cloſely the various parts of his dominions, he gave to the whole of his new kingdom the common name of England;[1] and at this juncture, every ſpecies of union was neceſſary to oppoſe the formidable and increaſing invaſions of the Danes. A large body of theſe people landed about this time in Weſt Wales;[2] A. D. 833. and ſuch was the animoſity of the Welſh, and ſuch the wretched alternative left them, that they united with the Danes in a common intereſt, as the leſs and more diſtant evil, to wreak their vengeance upon the Saxons, and to eſtabliſh the Daniſh power on the ruin of more immediate and hereditary enemies.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 24, 25. [2] Ibid.

[3] Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172, 173.

[4] Chron. of Wales, p. 25.

Fabian, p. 184. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 172.

The Welſh, in conſequence of this alliance, joined their forces with the Danes;

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 13. Verſtegan, c. V. p. 125.

[2] Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Chron. of Wales, p. 27.

and after having ravaged a great part of his dominions, and deſtroyed many of his caſtles and fortified towns, they fought a ſevere battle with the Saxon prince upon Hengiſt Down; but in this action, they ſuſtained a terrible defeat, with the ſlaughter of a great
A. D. 835. part of their army.[1] Incenſed at this invaſion, and alarmed at the conſequence of ſuch alliances in future, Egbert made war upon the Welſh, and inveſted the city of Cheſter; determined that they ſhould feel the utmoſt effects of his reſentment and power. This city had hitherto remained in the poſſeſſion of the Welſh,[2] and was regarded as an important poſt upon the frontier. It was taken at this time by Egbert.[3] Among other marks of his indignation againſt the very memory of the Britons, he gave orders that the brazen ſtatue of Cadwallon ſhould be

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[1] Saxon Chron. p. 72. Matth. Weſtm. p. 227.

[2] Chron. of Wales, p. 27.

[3] Grafton's Chron. p. 132. Fabian, p. 184.

taken down and defaced;[1] he likewiſe iſſued a proclamation, that all the men, with their wives and children, who were deſcended from Britiſh blood, ſhould depart his territories in ſix months, on pain of death;[2] and to add injury to inſult, he made another law, as ſavage as it was unavailing; which affixed the penalty of death to every Welſhman, who paſſed the limits of Offa's Dyke, and ſhould be taken on the Engliſh borders.[3] More coercive reſtraints were neceſſary than ſuch a feeble barrier and futile law, though the hand of power had drawn an arbitrary line, which inſulted the feelings, and entrenched on the rights of a warlike and iraſcible people.

A. D. 838. THIS Saxon prince died ſoon after the ſiege of Cheſter; and his death probably ſuſpended for ſeveral ages the deſtiny of Wales.

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[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 77.

[2] Chron. Wales, p. 27, from Ranulph Ceſtr.

[3] Speed's Chron. p. 318, from Joa. Beverlenſis.

A short ceſſation of the Daniſh inroads gave leiſure to Berthred, the tributary ſovereign of Mercia, to renew hoſtilities againſt the Welſh;[1] and a ſevere battle was fought by the two princes, at a place called Kettel, upon the frontiers; in which Mervyn, the king of North Wales was ſlain; who left his A. D. 843. eldeſt ſon, named Roderic, to ſucceed to his dignity.[2]

The proſpect now opens under a new point of view; the memorable reign of Roderic. This young prince ſucceeded to his father's throne with a greater extent of territory than had fallen to the ſhare of any Cambrian ſovereign.—He enjoyed, by the right of his father and mother, the ſovereignty of the Iſland of Man, with the territories of North Wales and Powys; and having married Angharad the heireſs of South Wales, of courſe the whole province of Cambria centered in his perſon.[1] The firmneſs reſulting from this union, the nature of the country and valour of the inhabitants, their inveteracy againſt the Saxons, and the perilous ſituation of that people, were important advantages which opened with the reign of Roderic. If this fortunate combination of circumſtances had been directed agreeably to a wiſe policy, it would probably have ſecured the independency of Wales; and have fixed its government upon a baſis ſo ſolid and permanent, that it might have ſuſtained the ſtorms of ages; and have fallen at length amidſt the ruins of time, unleſs undermined by the refinements and luxury, of a bordering, a more civilized and powerful people.

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[1] Saxon Chron. p. 75. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 27, 28.

Instead of taking advantage of this fortunate conjuncture, a criſis which will never more return in the annals of Wales, a fatal and irreparable meaſure took place. For Roderic, early in his reign, divided his dominions into three Principalities; which during his life, were governed by chieftains acting under his authority; and this ſingular event ſeems to have ariſen from the narrow idea, that the Welſh, accuſtomed to be ruled by their native princes, ought not to yield obedience to a common ſovereign.[1]

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[1] Rowland, p. 173, 188. Welſh Chron. p. 35.

The death of Mervyn Vrych, and the late victory obtained over the Welſh, flattered Berthred the Mercian prince, with the hopes of farther ſucceſs from the youth and inexperience of Roderic. Agreeable to this deſign, and ſtrengthened by the aid of Ethulwulph, the king of England, he entered North Wales with a powerful army,[2] and advanced as far as Angleſey; which he laid waſte in a cruel manner.[3] The young prince Roderic, on this trying occaſion, neglected

A. D. 846.

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

[2] Sim. Dunelme, p. 120, 139. Hiſt. Angl. Script. Matth. Weſtm. p. 231.

[3] Chron. Wales, p. 35.

no exertion, which was due to his own honour and to the defence of his country. By the ſpirited reſiſtance he made, the king of Mercia was prevented from making any great progreſs in the iſland: and ſoon after, fortunately for the Welſh, the attention of that prince was employed in the protection of his own dominions from the power of the Danes.[1] The inroads of theſe people increaſing every day, the Engliſh, fully employed in attending to their own ſafety, left the Welſh to enjoy many years a ſeaſon of unuſual tranquility.

If Roderic had poſſeſſed the qualities of a truly great prince, he would at leaſt, at this fortunate period, have attempted to provide againſt future evils; and the nature of his country, interſected by rivers and fortified with mountains, and almoſt ſurrounded by the ocean, might have pointed out the rational means of defence. Had this prince made a proper uſe of the leiſure which the troubles in England had given him, he would have placed garriſons in the frontier towns, would have collected magazines, and fortified the paſſes; and he would have exerted his utmoſt ability, to ſecure his country from foreign invaders, by forming a naval power; he would, alſo, have endeavoured to reduce his ſubjects to a juſt ſubordination, by promoting among them a ſpirit of union, and a ſteady obedience to the laws. Inſtead of theſe regulations, that period ſeems to have been diſtinguiſhed by a total neglect of every meaſure, which, if ſteadily purſued, might have given ſecurity to his kingdom.

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[1] Simon Dunelme Ann. 874. Saxon Chron. p. 82. Chron. of Wales, p. 31.

A. D. 872. AT this time Alfred had aſcended the throne of England.[1] Engaged through his reign, in affairs of war or legiſlation, or in introducing into his kingdom learning and the arts, this prince filled every department in the ſtate, and thoſe appertaining to ſcience, with men of the greateſt abilities.[1] Having founded the univerſity of Oxford, he invited out of Wales two perſons diſtinguiſhed for their learning; John, ſurnamed Scotus, and Aſſer, who had been educated in the college of St. David; the former of whom he appointed a profeſſor in the univerſity he had lately eſtabliſhed.[2] And, taught by experience the impolicy of contending with the Danes by land, and the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſuch a navy as might enable him to oppoſe them at ſea, he engaged in his ſervice many Welſhmen acquainted with the art of ſhip-building; whom he appointed ſuperintendants of the dock yards, and afterwards employed in honourable ſtations in the fleet.[3]

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[1] William Malmſbury, lib. II. cap. IV. p. 42.

The Danes, having received a repulſe in England, and being by treaty obliged to relinquiſh that country, made a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey; where in two battles they met with a very ſpirited oppoſition from Roderic; one of which was fought at Bangole, A. D. 873. and the other at Menegid. At the ſame time, South Wales was invaded by another body of Danes, who deſolated that country, and laid the churches and religious houſes in ruins.[1]

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[1] Polydore Virgil, lib. V. p. 106.

[2] Chron. of Wales, p. 33.

[3] Berkeley's Naval Hiſt. Brit. p. 69.

About this time Roderic changed the royal reſidence from Caer Segont[2] to Aberffraw in Angleſey.[3] It is ſtrange, that he ſhould deſert a country where every mountain was a natural fortreſs, and in times of ſuch difficulty and danger, ſhould make choice of a reſidence ſo expoſed and defenceleſs.

An interval of quiet from the Danes, gave the Engliſh another opportunity of making a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey; which they invaded with a formidable army. The Welſh king, oppoſing them with his uſual gallantry of ſpirit, at length fell in the defence of his country; being ſlain with Gwyriad A. D. 877. his brother, in one of the battles which he fought with the Engliſh in the courſe of that expedition.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 34.

[2] Near the preſent town of Caernarvon.

[3] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 173.

It has been already obſerved, that the late prince, in the courſe of his reign, had divided his dominions into three diſtinct ſovereignties; which he left to his ſons Anarawd, Cadell, and Mervyn.[2] But, agreeably to the ſpirit and cuſtom of gavel-kind, though each ſovereign poſſeſſed a diſtinct authority within his own dominions; yet a pre-eminency over the other princes was eſtabliſhed in the kings of North Wales.[3] He ordained that the princes of

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 35. [2] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 174.

[3] Britiſh Antiquities Revived, by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 8, 25, 40. Rowland Mon. Ant. p. 174, 175. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 64, 65.

South Wales and Powys ſhould each of them pay yearly to the ſovereign of North Wales, a tribute[1] called *Maelged*, of ſixty-three pounds, as a mark of ſubordination;[2] but the royal tribute, or *Teyrnged*, which was due from Cambria to the imperial crown of London, agreeably to the ancient laws, was ordained in future to be paid by the kings of North Wales.[3] Regarding likewiſe his eldeſt ſon Anarawd as the immediate heir of the *Cynethian* line, he left to him and to his ſucceſſors, the title of *Brenhin Cymru Oll*, or the king of all Wales.[4]

To cement more cloſely in a common intereſt his ſons and their ſucceſſors; he enjoined, that if any two of theſe princes ſhould happen to differ about their particular intereſts, in ſuch caſe the third ſhould interfere, and ſhould finally arbitrate the matter.[1] It was ordained, that if any difference ſhould ariſe between the princes of North and South Wales, they ſhould all meet at Bwlch-y-Pawl, in the preſent county of Montgomery, and the prince of Powys was appointed the umpire. If the princes of North Wales and Powys ſhould be at variance, they were all to aſſemble at Morva-Rhianedd on the banks of the Dee, and the prince of South Wales was to determine the controverſy. If the diſpute ſhould ariſe between the princes of Powys and South Wales, the meeting was appointed to be held at Llys Wen upon the river Wye, and the matter in contention was to be decided by the king of North Wales.[2] Roderic muſt have been little acquainted with human nature, to imagine that ſuch regulations were ſufficient to counteract, at a diſtant period, the wild paſſions and ambition of princes.

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[1] Theſe tributes, according to Vaughan of Hengwrt in Brit. Ant. Reviv. p. 39, 40, were paid in the following manner. The kings of North Wales were to pay £63 to the crown of London; the princes of Powys four tons of flour; and the princes of South Wales four tons of honey to the ſovereigns of North Wales.

[2] H. Lhuyd, p. 64, 65. Rowland, p. 175.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Rowland, p. 174, 175.

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[1] Rowland, p. 175.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 35.

Other inſtitutions better marked the ſtrength and liberality of his mind. He ordained, that if their ſeparate territories ſhould be invaded by a foreign enemy, the three Welſh princes were in that caſe to aſſiſt, and to afford mutual protection to each other: that caſtles and other ſtrong holds ſhould be fortified and kept in repair: that the churches and religious houſes ſhould be rebuilt and adorned: that the Britiſh hiſtory ſhould be faithfully tranſcribed and enlarged: and that the archives of Britain, the monuments of her glory, ſhould be carefully depoſited in the monaſteries of Wales.[1]

From ſuch attentions as theſe, or perhaps from a comparison with the other Welſh princes in extent of dominion, and in perſonal ability, Roderic hath gained from poſterity the ſurname of *Great*. If to produce the wealth and grandeur, the ſecurity and happineſs of a ſtate, be the means of obtaining ſuch a title; then, ſurely, the conduct of this prince gave him little claim to that honourable diſtinction. Inſtead of acting up to the great deſign of government, Roderic, without precedent to palliate, or apparent neceſſity to enforce ſuch a meaſure, yielded up the independency of Wales; enjoining his poſterity by a ſolem reſcript, to pay to the Saxon kings, as a mark of ſubordination, a yearly tribute; a tribute, though ariſing out of ancient laws, that was only due from the *Cambrian* to the *Britiſh* princes; and which, no doubt, became from this period the baſis upon which was founded that claim of ſupremacy ever after aſſerted by the Engliſh. The diviſion which Roderic had made of his dominions, was likewiſe the ſource of civil diſſenſions and national weakneſs; and was ſoon the cauſe of a decline in patriotiſm, and of a ſtriking barbarity in manners; a ſeries of evils, which ſucceſſively produced the ruin of their different ſtates; and ſcarcely ended with the conqueſt of the Welſh, and after the loſs of their political exiſtence.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 35.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF RODERIC THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN.

The preſent æra opens a new proſpect of the hiſtory of Wales; in which this country, which in the late reign had centered in one ſovereign, was divided into three diſtinct principalities.

Anarawd, the eldeſt ſon of Roderic the Great, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales.[1] This territory was the *Venedocia* of A. D. 877.

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[1] Rowland, p. 174.

the Romans,[1] and was by the Britons called Gwynedh.[2] The reſidence of the ſovereigns of this diſtrict was at Aberffraw in Angleſey; in a palace which had been erected during the life of king Roderic.[3] The kingdom of North Wales, in the four diviſions of Angleſey, Arvon,[4] Meirionydh, and Perfeddwlad,[5] containing fifteen *cantrevs*, ſubdivided into thirty-eight *commots*;[6] was bounded on the weſt and north by the Iriſh ſea; on the ſouth weſt by the river Dyvi, which ſeparated it from South Wales; and on the ſouth and eaſt, was divided from Powys and England by mountains and rivers, particularly by the Dee.[7] The language ſpoken in this country is eſteemed the moſt pure, and comes the neareſt to that of the ancient Britons. Its inhabitants, from a variety of cauſes, preſerved their independency longer than the other principalities. Beſides the valour of the people, and in general the public virtue of their princes, the natural ſituation of the country of Snowdun, a range of mountains extending from one ſea to the other, and guarded by two rivers diſcharging themſelves into the ocean at Traeth Mawr, and Conway, formed a rampart exceedingly ſtrong; over which the Welſh uſually retreated when they were preſſed by the Engliſh arms. The principal defiles likewiſe which opened through that range of vaſt mountains were ſecured by ſtrong fortifications. The caſtle of Diganwy was placed oppoſite to the water of Conway, an arm of the ſea which opened into the country; that of Caer Rhun was ſituated at the paſs of Bwlch y ddau-vaen, with a fort at Aber; Dolwyddelen caſtle and a watch tower were placed at Nant Frankon; Dolbadern caſtle at Nant Peris; and the fort at Kidom was fixed at Nant tal-y-Llyn. The other paſs of Traeth Mawr was guarded by the ſtrong caſtles of Harlech on one ſide of the bay, and of Cricieth on the other; with a watch tower at Keſel Gyfarch, and a fort at Dolbenmaen.[1] Theſe various fortifications, all of them placed in the moſt advantageous ſituations, marked, for a rude age, great military ſagacity.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 64.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 36. Rowland, p. 174.

[4] Signifying, above Mona.

[5] The inward or middle part. Humf. Lhuyd, p. 64—66.

[6] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 5—8.

[7] H. Lhuyd, p. 64.

A. D. 877. CADELL, the ſecond ſon of the late prince, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of South Wales,[2] diſtinguiſhed by the name of Deheubarth, as lying to the ſouth of the other provinces.[3] The reſidence of the princes of this country was at Dinevawr,[4] on the banks of the river Towi * in Caermarthenſhire; where a palace had been erected by Roderic,[5] in a ſituation ſtrongly fortified by woods and mountains; and more convenient, on that account, than their ancient abode at Caermarthen upon the ſame river; which was probably at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.[1] This diſtrict, the *Demetia* of the Romans, was divided into the preſent counties of Caerdigan, Pembroke, Caermarthen, Glamorgan, Monmouth and Brecknock; it conſiſted of twenty-ſix *cantrevs*, ſubdivided into eighty-one *commots*;[2] and was encompaſſed by the Iriſh ſea, by the Severn, and by the rivers Wye and Dyvi.[3] The continual influx of foreigners into this country hath been the means of debaſing the language from its original purity.[4]

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[1] Rowland's Mon. Ant. p. 148.

[2] Ibid. p. 174.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 64.

[4] Dinas Vawr, or the great palace.

* *Tywi.*

Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 34.

Mervyn, the youngeſt ſon of Roderic the Great, ſucceeded to the principality of Powys.[5] The reſidence of the princes of this country was at Mathraval in Montgomeryſhire; at which place a palace had been built by the late prince.[6] The principality of A. D. 877.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 79.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 16—20.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 75, 76.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Rowland's Mon. p. 175.

[6] Ibid.

Powys, afterwards broken into the diviſions of Powys Vadoc, and Powys Wenwynwyn;[1] had fourteen *cantrevs*, ſubdivided into forty *commots*;[2] it was bounded on the north by North Wales, on the eaſt by the country which lies between Cheſter and Hereford, on the ſouth by England, and on the weſt by the river Wye, and by mountains which divide it from South Wales.[3] The fertility and open ſituation of this country, expoſed it to continual invaſions; and having more to dread from the arms of the Engliſh, than to expect from the regular ſupport of their countrymen, the princes of Powys took an early and frequent part in the intereſts of England.

Early in the reign of Anarawd, that prince had an opportunity of affording to the northern Britons, the like friendly protection, which his anceſtors had ſo often received from their countrymen in Armorica. The remains of the Strath-Clyde Britons, having been harraſſed by the Danes, Saxons and Scots; and after ſevere conflicts with them, having loſt Conſtantine their king in battle; applied to Anarawd for an aſylum in his dominions.[1] This prince agreed to receive them on the only tenure incident to theſe turbulent ages, which was to obtain and to preſerve a ſettlement by the power of the ſword.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 10, 11.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 70.

Under the conduct of Hobart, theſe Britons came into Wales; and having every motive of reſentment and intereſt to urge them to valour, they eaſily diſpoſſeſſed the Saxons of that country which is ſituated between the Dee and the Conway.[2]

These people remained for a time in quiet A. D. 878. poſſeſſion of their new kingdom, until Eadred the earl of Mercia, mortified with the diſgrace his arms had ſuſtained, made preparations to recover the country which had been ſo eaſily torn from him.[1] The Britons, having early intelligence of his deſign, removed their cattle and other valuable effects beyond the river Conway. To ſupport his allies, and to expel from the boſom of his country its hereditary enemies, Anarawd exhibited a ſpirit and activity ſuitable to the importance of the occaſion; and having encountered the Saxons at Cymryd, about two miles from the town of Conway, by his own gallantry and the bravery of his troops, he gave them an entire defeat. With a pious and honeſt exultation, the young prince called this memorable action *Dial Rodri*,[2] expreſſive of the vengeance he had taken for his father's death.[3] Purſuing their victory, the Welſh followed the Saxons into Mercia, laid waſte their borders, and returned into their own country loaded with valuable ſpoils.[1] Anarawd, agreeably to the piety of thoſe days, and to expreſs his gratitude for the late proſperous event, endowed the collegiate church of Bangor, and that of Clynnoc Vawr in Arvon, with lands and great poſſeſſions.[2] Theſe northern Britons, by an unaccountable and ſingular policy, were allowed to eſtabliſh a ſeparate ſtate in the vale of Clwyd, in *Rhos*, and in the conquered[3] country.[4] Part of this country had been called Tegenia by the Romans, Englefeld by the Saxons, and Tegeingl by the Welſh; but being now united with the other territories, the northern Britons gave to their new kingdom the name of Strath-Clwyd;* part of it being ſituated on the banks of the river Clwyd.[5]

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 31.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38. Humf. Lhuyd, p. 31, 32.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38.

[2] Or Roderic's revenge.

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 38.

[2] Ibid. Camden's Brit. p. 671.

[3] The country from Conway along the Dee to Cheſter.

[4] Welſh Chron.

* *Yſtrad Clwyd.*

[5] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69.

Civil diſſenſion, an evil naturally ſpringing out of the conduct of Roderic, and which ſoon ſet aſide his futile regulations, had already taken root in the breaſts of his ſons. For Anarawd, after the late ſtorm was diſperſed, probably on account of the tribute A. D. 893. not having been paid,[1] united with the Engliſh againſt his brother the prince of South Wales; and with their joint forces invaded his territory, and laid waſte the country of Caerdigan,[2] and the vale alſo which borders upon the Wye in Radnorſhire,*

The Danes being obliged to flee before the arms of Alfred, made a deſcent upon the coaſt of Wales, and advanced into the country as far as Buellt;[3] and ſome time after, being again diſcomfited by that truly great A. D. 896. prince, they laid waſte the country of Brecknock, and other diſtricts in South Wales.[4]

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[1] Britiſh Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 13.

[2] Chron. Wales, p. 41.

* *Yſtradgwy.*

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 41, 42.

[4] Ibid.

A large body of the ſame people landed again in Angleſey; but this invaſion ſeems only to have been diſtinguiſhed by a battle fought at Meilon, and by the death of Mer- A. D. 900. vyn the prince of Powys.[1]

The fatal policy of Roderic became again conſpicuous. Cadell the prince of South Wales, on the death of Mervyn his brother, took poſſeſſion by force of the principality of Powys; incited by ambition, or the jealouſy natural to brothers who enjoy an equal ſhare in their father's dominions and dignity.[2]

Cadell, the prince of South Wales, dying A. D. 907. in this year, was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon Howel; who likewiſe annexed the ſovereignty of Powys to his hereditary dignity.[3]

The city of Cheſter, which had lain ſome years in ruins ſince it had been demoliſhed by the Danes,[1] was rebuilt and much improved by Elfleda, the wife of the tributary ſovereign of Mercia:[2] ſhe likewiſe repaired the walls, and enlarged their circuit round A.D. 908. the caſtle, which before this time had been ſituated without the city.[3]

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[1] Chron. Wales, p. 42.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 35.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 44, 46.

A. D. 913. A FEW years after this event, Anarawd, the king of North Wales died, and left two ſons, Edwal Voel, and Elis.

A. D. 913. EDWAL VOEL, the eldeſt ſon of the late prince, ſucceeded to the ſovereignty of North Wales; and was married to the daughter of his uncle Mervyn, the late prince of Powys.[4] Early in his reign the Iriſh made a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey, which they laid waſte in a cruel manner.[5]

[1] Saxon Annals, p. 95.

[2] Math. Weſtm. Flores Hiſt. p. 269.

[3] Brompton's Chron. p. 838. Fabian's Chron. p. 224. Printed at London Ann. Dom. 1559.

[4] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 4.

[5] Welſh Chron. p. 45, 47.

ATHELSTANE the king of England, having in ſeveral victories triumphed over the Danes and Scots, marched with an army into Wales; and at Hereford impoſed on the princes of that country a yearly tribute of twenty pounds in gold, three hundred pounds in ſilver, and two thouſand five hundred head of cattle, beſides a certain number of hawks and hounds.[1] This arbitrary tribute was no longer regarded by the Welſh, than while the kings of England had the power of enforcing its obſervance. A. D. 933.

A WELSH chieftain had been impriſoned in England; and his confinement being reſented by Edwal Voel, probably as an inſult offered to the independency of his crown, that prince, with his brother Elis, attempted by hoſtilities to revenge the affront; but in

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[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 838, with reſpect to the tribute, with the difference only of doubling the number of cattle. Stowe's Chron. p. 82. Welſh Chron. p. 50. Grafton's Chron. p. 149, publiſhed Ann. 1569.

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A. D. 940. the conteſt they were both ſlain, fighting againſt the Engliſh and Danes.[1] The king of North Wales left ſix ſons, Meyric, Jevaf, Jago, Cynan, Edwal and Roderic; and his brother Elis a ſon called Cynan, and a daughter named Trawſt.[2]

The love of power is an active and commanding principle in man: to obtain and preſerve it, he will employ his utmoſt ſagacity, and bend the full force of his various faculties. Even the wiſe and temperate mind of Howel, prince of South Wales, was not exempt from its influence. The great eſteem into which this prince had ariſen from a juſt adminiſtration, had probably gained him, ſome years before, the ſovereignty of Powys; A. D. 940. and enabled him, at this time, by the acceſſion of North Wales, to unite into one kingdom the three principalities.[3] Whether he obtained that dignity, ſolely, by the efforts of ambition; or was called to it by the voice of the people; or that talents for government, in theſe diſordered times, occaſionally ſet aſide the regular courſe of ſucceſſion; it is certain, that the ſons of the late prince, immediately on their father's death, were ſuperſeded by Howel, without any farther oppoſition on their part, than unavailing murmurs and diſcontent.[1] Whatever were the means by which he attained to the ſovereignty of North Wales; his early attention to the common weal, and the mild tenor of his government, will, in ſome meaſure palliate, though it can never vindicate upon any principle of expediency, an act of injuſtice.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 51.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 51. Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan Hengwrt, p. 14.

To reduce his ſubjects to a ſenſe of order, and to render them ſubordinate to civil authority,

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 52. [2] Ibid. p. 52.

thority, Howel determined to collect into one code the ancient cuſtoms and laws of Wales; which, in the lapſe of ages, and in the confuſion and turbulency of the times, had nearly loſt their efficacy and weight. In purſuance of this deſign, he convened the archbiſhop of St. David, and other biſhops and clergy to the number of one hundred and forty, with the principal chieftains of Wales: out of every *commot* were likewiſe ſummoned ſix perſons, diſtinguiſhed by their talents and virtues. This aſſembly, forming a great national council, met upon the banks of the Tâf, at the white palace belonging to king Howel.[1] In order to give the meeting greater ſolemnity, and to implore the Divine Wiſdom to influence their counſels, the king himſelf, with the whole aſſembly, remained during Lent in the continual exerciſe of prayer and other acts of devotion. As ſoon as this ſolemn preparation was finiſhed, Howel ſelected twelve perſons who were eminent for wiſdom, gravity, and experience; and he joined in the commiſſion Blegored, the archdeacon of Llandaff; a perſon highly diſtinguiſhed for learning, and a knowledge of the laws. This committee entered into a ſtrict examination of the cuſtoms and ancient inſtitutions of Wales. With a judicious and diſcriminating eye they aboliſhed every law become injurious or unneceſſary; thoſe, likewiſe, which time had rendered confuſed and unintelligible, were explained with greater perſpicuity; and by a proper digeſt of the whole, a ſyſtem was framed; which, allowing for limited ideas in juriſprudence, was wiſely adapted to the genius, neceſſities, and ſituation of the Welſh.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 53.

This ſyſtem was formed on the baſis of the ancient national laws.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 53.

[2] Said to have been originally framed by Moelmutius, who reigned in Britain 441 years before Chriſt. Holinſhead, p. 177.

After the new code of laws had been read, proclaimed, and ratified by the public approbation; three copies of them were put into writing; one of which was deſigned for the uſe of the prince, and to follow his court; and the others were depoſited in the palaces of Aberffraw and Dinevawr. This may be conſidered as a tolerable advance in juridical policy, for that age; when private rights and public laws had been, in a great meaſure, tranſmitted by local cuſtoms and immemorial tradition. To add ſtill greater authority to the laws, and to ſtamp them as objects of religious veneration; the archbiſhop of St. David denounced excommunication on all who ſhould violate them. Influenced, likewiſe, by the ſpirit of the age, or deſirous of rendering ſuch a ceremony ſubſervient to his views, Howel, attended by the archbiſhop of St. David, the biſhop of Bangor and St. Aſaph, and thirteen other perſons of diſtinction, proceeded to Rome; where the new ſyſtem of legiſlation was ſolemnly ratified ſied by the Pope; and having thus given the laſt ſanction to his laws, he returned into Wales.[1]

THE mild temper of this prince ſeems, in ſome meaſure, to have influenced the tranſactions of his reign; few military incidents having diſturbed it during a period of forty years. A. D. 944. At this time, however, the Engliſh, with a conſiderable force, invaded North Wales; and after they had laid waſte the ſmall territory of Strath-Clwyd, returned into their own country.[2]

A. D. 948. A FEW years after this event king Howel died; leaving four ſons, Owen, Rhun, Roderic, and Edwyn; who, dividing among themſelves the principalities of South Wales and Powys, relinquiſhed North Wales to the right heirs, Jeuav and Jago, the ſons of Edwal Voel.[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 54.

[2] Ibid. p. 58.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 58.

The death of this amiable prince, who had long enjoyed the mild honours reſulting from peace, and the public eſteem, ſpread univerſally the deepeſt ſorrow. As a grateful memorial of his virtues, poſterity have given him the ſurname of *Dha*, or the Good. His code of laws is the beſt eulogium to his memory; and raiſes him as much above the reſt of the Cambrian princes,[1] as peace and gentleneſs of manners, and a regulated ſtate; are preferable to the evils inſeparable from war, to the fierceneſs of uncivilized life, and to the habits of a wild independency.

THE LAWS of HOWEL DHA were divided into three parts, each of which had a diſtinct and ſeparate object; the king's prerogatives, with the œconomy of his court; the affairs of civil juriſprudence; and the criminal law.

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[1] From this compariſon it is the author's meaning to except thoſe Britiſh and Cambrian princes who defended their country from the rapacity or ambition of foreign enemies: a conduct than which nothing can be more meritorious, or ſcarcely any thing have a higher claim on the reſpect and gratitude of mankind.

The king poſſeſſed, by virtue of his prerogative, the patronage of monaſteries, the protection of public roads, the right of creating laws with conſent of his people, of coining money within his dominions, and of preſiding in the principal cauſes that related to himſelf, his crown, and its appendages. He was empowered to lead an army only once a year, and for no longer time than ſix weeks, out of his kingdom; within his own territories he might at any time muſter his ſubjects and conduct them to battle. He was privileged to hunt in any part of his dominions. He had a power of compelling any of his ſubjects to build the royal caſtles.

If any perſon addreſſed the king with unbecoming and inſolent language, he was conſtrained to pay a fine of ſix head of cattle. Offences againſt the king were, to commit adultery with his queen, to kill his ſubſtitute, and violate his protection. The judges were conſidered as the king's ſubſtitutes. The fine for theſe treaſons conſiſted of a rod of gold of the king's ſtature, a bull, and a hundred cows, from every *cantrev* or diſtrict belonging to the attainted perſon. For aſſaſſinating the king the penalty was made threefold.

The witneſs or debtor who followed the ſound of the military horn, when the king marched to war, was excuſed from obedience to a legal ſummons. At his acceſſion he confirmed the rights of places of aſylum; and it was alſo his prerogative to fix the bounds of *cantrevs* and *trevs*. He had likewiſe a power of bringing to immediate trial cauſes in which the crown was concerned, and of ſetting aſide a written law to make room for a traditional cuſtom. There were ſpecies of offences which gave the king the privilege of ſelling the offenders. The king was not amenable to his own judges.

To moderate theſe exceſſes of authority, ſome limitations were thrown into the oppoſite ſcale. If complaint was made that the king, or any of his ſubſtitutes, had violated the laws, and exerciſed oppreſſion; the matter was then to be decided by a verdict of the country; that is, by a jury of fifty men holding land, and ſworn to do juſtice; if the accuſation was found to be juſt, they ordered reparation to be made. The king had no power to puniſh his ſubjects for offences committed out of his kingdom, or in the time of his predeceſſor. Though he had granted to an abbey rights or privileges by which his prerogative was infringed, yet the law ordained that the grant ſhould never be revoked; alledging that it was more ſafe to diminiſh, than to increaſe the royal power.

The Welſh, engaged in a roving and military life, had little leiſure to exerciſe the arts, or to cultivate the ground; and of conſequence were, in ſome degree, in a ſtate of poverty. They had many uſages, however, which tended to make their princes opulent; and to ſupply them with the means of diſplaying that unreſtrained hoſpitality by which their reſidence was rendered conſpicuous.

The king was the original landlord of the whole of his dominions. The ſervices by which land were held under him were of three kinds; military ſervice, ſervice in the courts of law, and the payment of the public tribute; which in ancient times was made with horned cattle. When land, by neglecting the ſervice for the performance of which they were granted, or by deſerting them without the king's licence, were forfeited, they reverted to him. His ſubjects were obliged to build the royal palaces, and, in a great meaſure, they maintained his houſehold;

he was entitled to all treaſures wherever found; to all goods not claimed by any owner, and the poſſeſſions of deceaſed biſhops. Among the various productive ſources of revenue, was the ſale of honourable and lucrative places; and the eſcheat of goods exceeding one pound in value; ſuch as horſes, oxen, cows, gold, ſilver, and embroidered garments; eſcheated goods of inferior price belonged to the royal officers and domeſtics. According to the ancient diviſion of Wales, ſettled by its laws, a *cantrev* contained two *commots*; a *commot* twelve manors; a manor four townſhips. A yearly tribute of one pound was due from every free manor, and was paid to the king in money; or in lieu thereof, a horſe load of the beſt flour, a ſlaughtered ox, a caſk of mead,* one hundred and ſixty ſheaves of oats for the provender of the king's horſes, a ſow, a flitch of bacon, and a veſſel of butter. This tribute was paid in the ſummer. In winter the royal houſehold was in a great meaſure ſupported by the free manors; each of which paid likewiſe two ſhillings in money, to be divided among the domeſtics. Thoſe manors which were not emancipated, but remained in a ſtate of vaſſalage, paid twice in the year a ſmaller tribute; conſiſting of ale, butter, cheeſe, bread, corn for provender, hogs and ſheep. In every *commot* of Wales, two townſhips remained in the king's private poſſeſſion, ungranted to any ſubject. A mayor and a chancellor ſuperintended the royal demeſnes; the latter officer had the privilege of being preceded by a virger; he had alſo the power of impriſonment, and was not liable to be taxed. Shipwrecks and all other things thrown up by the ſea upon the ſhore of the king's perſonal eſtates, became his property: when thrown on the territory of a biſhop, abbot, or any other lord, the king had alſo a right to an equal ſhare.

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* *Medd.*

Besides theſe ſources of advantage ariſing to the king; there were many others which were conſidered as the fruits of his prerogative. He had the eſcheat of the goods of ſuicides. Foreigners, who were vagabonds, and who were found in any part of his dominions, were the property of the king. He was the proprietor, likewiſe, of waſtes, foreſts, and the ſea. He had the power of commanding a workman from every town in villanage to erect his tent. The villains of the crown were obliged to build for the king nine apartments of his palace: the hall, the royal bed-chamber, the pantry, the ſtable, dog kennel, the barn, the kiln, the privy, and the dormitory. Young women were accounted among the ſources of the king's revenue; and to him a fee was paid on their marriage or violation. A fine was paid to the king on any breach of contract. A toll was alſo to be paid by every merchant ſhip which came into the ports of Wales; and if any ſhip, which had not paid toll, happened to be wrecked, its cargo was forfeited to the king. Vaſſals, in a ſtate of villanage, were obliged, nine times in the year, to furniſh the king's horſes and dogs with provender, and his foreigners with proviſion. They were likewiſe conſtrained to yield up all their honey and fiſh to the uſe of the court; and to provide horſes to carry the baggage and ammunition of the army. A third part of all military plunder was yielded to the crown.

The Queen had a right of patronage, or protection; and received a third part of the revenues of the royal manors. The violation of her perſon was deemed among the treaſonable offences; with the addition of a moiety to the ordinary penalty. A preſent of money was due to her, when her daughter was married. She had alſo a power to diſpoſe of a third part of what ſhe had received from the king.

The Heir Apparent was either the ſon, the brother, the nephew, or couſin of the king: and it was believed that the king's private promiſe or appointment could ſecure the ſucceſſion to either of theſe kinſmen, without regard to nearneſs of blood. The laws placed him near the king's perſon, and under his authority: he ſat at the king's table, and was ſerved by the royal attendants. The king, the heir apparent, and the maſter of the palace, paid no portion with their daughters: the honour and influence derived from ſuch an alliance was deemed an equivalent. Deformity of perſon, as well as incapacity of mind, diſqualified the king's ſon or next of kindred from the government; as they did any ſubject from public offices, and the inheritance of land.

THE OFFICERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD, and twelve gentlemen whoſe tenures of land were by military ſervice, compoſed the royal guard; and were mounted upon horſes furniſhed by the king.

THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD conſiſted of the following officers and domeſtics.

The Master of the Palace. He was ſometimes the heir apparent, always of the royal blood. His authority extended to every perſon of the houſehold; and when any of them fell under the king's diſpleaſure, this officer entertained him until a reconciliation was effected. He received a ſhare of all military plunder; and, on three feſtivals in the year, was obliged by his office to deliver the harp into the hands of the domeſtic bard. He was alſo, it is probable, the king's treaſurer.

The Domestic Chaplain, was by his office appointed to ſay grace, to celebrate maſs, and to be conſulted in matters of conſcience. He was alſo ſecretary to the king, and to the principal court of juſtice. In the king's abſence, the domeſtic chaplain, the judge of the palace, and the ſteward of the houſehold, ſupported the royal dignity, and exerciſed the authority annexed to it.

The Steward of the Household, ſuperintended the inferior domeſtics; receiving, among other emoluments, the ſkins of lambs, kids, and fawns; and all other creatures from an ox to an eel, killed for the uſe of the king's kitchen. He was the king's taſter; and drank, but did not eat, at the king's table. He diſtributed among the officers of the houſehold their wages; he aſſigned them proper ſeats in the hall of the palace, and allotted the apartments in which they were to ſleep.

The Master of the Hawks, was required to ſleep near his birds: he had his bed in the king's granary, where they were kept; and not in the palace, leſt they ſhould be injured by the ſmoke. He was reſtricted to a certain meaſure of mead and ale; that he might not neglect his duty. In ſpring he had the ſkin of a hind, and in autumn that of a ſtag, for gloves to guard his hands, and thongs for the geſſes of his hawks. The eagle, the crane, the hawk, the falcon, and the raven, were conſidered as royal birds;

when any of theſe were killed without authority, a fine was paid to the king. The king owed three ſervices to the maſter of the hawks; on the day when he took a curlieu, a hern, or a bittern. He held the horſe of this officer while he took the bird; held his ſtirrup while he mounted and diſmounted; and that night honoured him likewiſe with three different preſents. If the king was not in the field, he roſe from his ſeat to receive this officer upon his return; or if he did not riſe, he gave him the garment which he wore at the time.

The Judge of the Palace. The court in which this judge preſided, was the principal court of Wales. It is ſaid that he always lodged in the hall of the palace; and that the cuſhion on which the king was ſeated in the day, ſerved for his pillow at night. On his appointment, he received an ivory cheſsboard from the king; a gold ring from the queen, and another gold ring from the domeſtic bard; which he always kept as the inſignia of his office. When he entered, or departed out of the palace, the great gate was opened for him; that his dignity might not be degraded by paſſing under a wicket. He determined the rank and duty of the ſeveral officers of the houſehold. He decided poetical conteſts; and received from the victorious bard, whom he rewarded with a ſilver chair, the badge of poetical pre-eminence; a gold ring, a drinking horn, and a cuſhion. If complaint was made to the king, that the judge of the palace had pronounced an unjuſt ſentence, and the accuſation was proved; he was then for ever deprived of his office, and condemned to loſe his tongue, or pay the uſual ranſom for that member. The other judges were alſo ſubject to theſe ſevere but ſalutary conditions. A perſon ignorant of the laws, whom the king deſigned to make his principal judge, was required to reſide previouſly a whole year in the palace; that he might obtain from the other judges, who reſorted thither from the country, a competent knowledge of his profeſſion and duty. During this year, the difficult cauſes which occurred, were ſtated and referred by him to the king: at the expiration of this term he was to receive the ſacrament from the hands of the domeſtic chaplain, and to ſwear at the altar that he would never knowingly pronounce an unjuſt ſentence, nor ever be influenced by bribes or intreaties, hatred or affection: he was then placed by the king in his ſeat, and inveſted with the judicial authority; and afterwards received preſents from the officers of the houſehold. It was reckoned among the remarkable and peculiar cuſtoms of the Welſh, that the tongues of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the king's houſehold, were given to the judge of the palace.

The Master of the Horse. His lodging was near the royal ſtables and granary; and it was his duty to make an equal diſtribution of provender among the royal horſes. From every perſon on whom the king had beſtowed one of his horſes, this officer received a preſent. To him and to his equerries belonged all colts, not two years old, included in the king's ſhare of ſpoils taken in war. To him alſo belonged the riding caps, ſaddles, bridles, and ſpurs, which the king had uſed and laid aſide. The ſpurs, we are told, were of gold, ſilver, and braſs. It was part of his duty, to produce the horſe belonging to the judge of the palace in good condition and in his complete furniture. The judge, in return for this care, inſtructed him in the nature of his rank and privileges. The extent of his protection was, the diſtance to which the ſwifteſt horſe in the king's ſtables could run.

The Chamberlain, was obliged to eat and ſleep in the king's private apartment, which he was appointed to guard. It was his duty to fill, and preſent to the king, his drinking horn; and to keep alſo his plate and rings, for all of which he was accountable. When the king's bed-furniture and wearing apparel were laid aſide, they were given to the chamberlain. If a perſon, walking in the king's chamber at night, without a light in his hand, happened to be ſlain, the laws gave no compenſation for his death.

The Domestic Bard, was conſidered as next in rank to the chief Bard of Wales. He was obliged, at the queen's command, to ſing in her own chamber, three different pieces of poetry ſet to muſic; but in a low voice, that the court might not be diſturbed in the hall. At his appointment he received a harp from the king, and a gold ring from the queen. On three great feſtivals in the year, he received and wore the garments of the ſteward of the houſehold; and at thoſe entertainments ſat next to the maſter of the palace. He accompanied the army when they marched into the enemy's country; and when they prepared for battle, he ſung before them an ancient poem called *Unbenniaeth Prydain*, or the Monarchy of Britain; and for this ſervice was rewarded with the moſt valuable beaſt of the plunder which they had taken in theſe incurſions.

An Officer to command Silence. This he performed firſt by his voice, and afterwards by ſtriking with his rod of office a pillar near which the domeſtic chaplain uſually ſat: and to him a fine was due for every diſturbance in the court. He took charge of the implements of huſbandry, and of the flocks and herds belonging to the king's demeſnes, in the abſence of the bailiff, or during the vacancy of his place. He was alſo a collector of the royal revenues.

The Master of the Hounds. In the hunting ſeaſon he was entertained, together with his ſervants and dogs, by thoſe tenants who held lands in villanage. Hinds were hunted from the middle of February to midſummer; and ſtags from that time to the middle of October. From the ninth day of November to the end of that month, this officer hunted the wild boar. On the firſt day of November, he brought his hounds and all his hunting apparatus for the king's inſpection: and then the ſkins of the animals he had killed in the preceding ſeaſon were divided, according to a ſettled proportion, between the king, himſelf, and his attendants. A little before Chriſtmas he returned to the court, to ſupport his rank and enjoy his privileges. During his reſidence at the palace he was lodged in the kiln-houſe, where corn was prepared by fire for the dogs. His bugle was the horn of an ox, valued at one pound. Whenever his oath was required, he ſwore by his horn, hounds, and leaſhes. Early in the morning, before he put on his boots, and then only, he was liable to be cited to appear before a court of judicature. The maſter of the hounds, or any other perſon who ſhared with the king, had a right to divide, and the king to chooſe. It was his duty to accompany the army on its march with his horn; and to ſound the alarm, and the ſignal of battle. His protection extended to any diſtance which the ſound of his horn could reach. The laws declared, that the beaver, the martin, and the ſtoat were the king's property wherever killed; and that with the furry ſkins of theſe animals his robes were to be bordered. The legal price of a beaver's ſkin was ſtated at ten ſhillings.[1]

The Mead-brewer. This liquor, which was the wine commonly uſed by the Welſh, was made with honey mixed in a vat with boiling water, and ſpiced. The wax ſeparated by this proceſs from the honey, was partly given to the mead-brewer, and partly applied to the uſes of the hall, which was the refectory of the palace; and to thoſe of the queen's dining apartment.

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[1] Lord Lyttelton, ſurely, was not appriſed of the teſtimony of Howel's laws, when he ridiculed Giraldus's account of beavers in Wales as fabulous.

The Physician of the Household, was alſo a practitioner of ſurgery. In ſlight caſes he cured the king's domeſtics without a fee. When he healed a common wound, he claimed the torn and bloody garments of the wounded perſon. When the brain was laid open, the bowels in ſight; or a thigh, leg, or arm was fractured; he received one pound for the cure. He was entitled to a bond from the family of his patient; by which he was indemnified, if death ſhould enſue: if he did not take this precaution, and the patient happened to die, he was liable to a legal proſecution. He always attended the army on its march.

The Cup-bearer, had charge of the mead-cellar, and filled and preſented the drinking-horns.

The Door-keeper, whoſe duty it was to carry meſſages to the king and his court.

His ſtation and lodging was the gate-houſe. He was required to know perſonally all the officers of the houſehold, that he might not refuſe admittance to any of them; which refuſal was conſidered and puniſhed as a violation of privilege. If he deſerted his poſt, and happened to receive any inſult, he could obtain no compenſation. He cleared the way before the king; and with his rod kept off the crowd. He preſerved the hall of the palace free from intruders; and did not ſit, but kneel in the king's preſence. The door-keeper of the palace, and the door-keeper of the royal chamber, lodged with the gate-keeper in the gate-houſe.

The Cook, to whoſe office appertained the ſkins of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the kitchen. He always carried the laſt diſh out of the kitchen, and placed it before the king; who immediately rewarded him with meat and drink.

The Sconce-bearer, who held wax tapers when the king ſat in the hall, and carried them before him when he retired to his chamber.

The Steward to the Queen; this officer was alſo her taſter. He ſuperintended her domeſtics, and was entertained at her table.

The Queen's Chaplain, who was alſo her ſecretary; and received a fee for every grant or inſtrument which bore her ſeal. He was alſo entertained in her dining apartment, and ſat oppoſite to her at table. He was entitled by his office to the penitential robes which the queen wore during lent. He lodged together with the king's chaplain, in the ſacriſtan's houſe.

The Master of the Horse to the Queen, was in ſeveral reſpects upon the ſame footing with the king's officer of the ſame name.

The Queen's Chamberlain, tranſacted every buſineſs between her apartment and the hall of the palace, and kept her wardrobe. His lodging was near the royal chamber, that he might be in readineſs whenever he was wanted.

The Woman of the Queen's Chamber, whoſe office it was to ſleep ſo near her miſtreſs, as to be able to hear her ſpeak though in a whiſper. She was entitled to the queen's linen, hairlaces, ſhoes, bridles, and ſaddles, when they were laid aſide.

The Door-keeper to the queen, lodged in the gate-houſe.

The Queen's Cook.

The Queen's Sconce-bearer.

The Groom of the Rein; who, when the maſter of the horſe was abſent, ſupplied his place. He led the king's horſe to and from the ſtables, brought out his arms, held his ſtirrup when he mounted or diſmounted, and ran by his ſide as his page.

An Officer to support the King's Feet at Banquets: he was the foot-ſtool of his throne, and the guard of his perſon. There was one in every *cantrev*.

The Bailiff of the king's demeſne. It was his province to judge and to puniſh the king's private vaſſals; and to him their heriots and amercements were paid. The ſervants of the chancellor and the officers of the revenue drove into his cuſtody the tribute-cattle; and by him the king's houſehold was ſupplied with proviſion.

The Apparitor, as an officer of the houſehold, ſtood between the two pillars in the hall; and had the charge of the palace during entertainments, that it might not ſuffer any damage by fire or otherwiſe. He appeared likewiſe in another capacity; conveying the ſummonſes and citations of the principal court of juſtice. He carried a wand as the badge of his office; and claimed entertainment at every houſe to which he was ſent: when the judges were ſitting, it was the apparitor's duty to ſilence, or take into cuſtody, thoſe offenders who diſturbed the court.

The Gatekeeper claimed by cuſtom a ſhare of ſeveral things carried through the gate-houſe to the palace. State priſoners were committed to his cuſtody. He acted as apparitor in the king's demeſnes. He provided ſtraw for the beds and other uſes of the royal houſehold; and he took care that the fires were lighted.

The Watchman of the palace was an officer who guarded the king's perſon while he ſlept. To him were given, as ſymbols of his duty, the eyes of all animals ſlaughtered for the uſe of the palace kitchen. When the king, and the officers of the houſhold retired to ſleep, a horn was ſounded; which was a ſignal to the watch-man to go upon duty. In the morning, when the palace gate was opened, he was relieved. From that time, until the horn was ſounded again at night, he was permitted to ſleep; and was under no neceſſity of performing any other ſervice, unleſs he voluntarily undertook it for a reward. If he was found negligent or aſleep during his watch, he was ſubject to heavy puniſhments.

The Wood-man procured fuel for the uſes of the houſehold. He alſo ſlaughtered the cattle for the royal kitchen with his axe.

The Baker-woman.

The Palace-Smith was obliged to work for the houſehold without any reward; except when he made a boiling pot, the point of a ſpear, the wood-man's axe, the iron work of the gate of the palace, or royal caſtle, and the iron work of the mill. It was his duty to ſtrike off the ſhackles of priſoners releaſed by the court of juſtice; and he received a fee for that ſervice. No other ſmith was allowed to exerciſe his trade in the ſame *commot* with the palace-ſmith, without his permiſſion.

The Laundress.

The Chief Musician was choſen into and ſeated in the chair of muſic, for his ſuperior ſkill in that ſcience, by the ſeſſion of the bards at the end of every third year. When his term expired, if he had maintained his ſuperiority, he was re-choſen. He was the only perſon, except the domeſtic bard, who was allowed to perform in the king's preſence. He was lodged in one of the apartments belonging to the heir apparent. In the hall he ſat next to the judge of the palace. When the king deſired to hear muſic, the chief muſician ſung two poems accompanied by the harp; one in praiſe of the

Almighty, the other in honour of princes and their exploits; after which a third poem was ſung by the domeſtic bard. His emoluments aroſe out of fees given by brides on their nuptials; and from thoſe of novices in muſic, when they were admitted to the practice of their profeſſion. The Welſh bards were uſually accompanied in their ſongs by the harp, the crwth, and the flute. They frequently addreſſed poems to their princes and lords, in which they ſolicited preſents; ſuch as a horſe, a bull, a ſword, or a garment; and they were ſeldom, if ever, refuſed.

The controller of the revenues had the privilege of bringing three gueſts to banquets in the palace. This officer, and the chancellor received all the honey, the fiſh, and wild creatures; which were paid as tributes, or forfeited to the king. They alſo received a third part of the income ariſing to the king from his tenants in villanage.

These were the different officers of whom the royal houſehold was compoſed. They were free-holders by their offices; and in conſequence of this they all enjoyed the right of protection; by which they granted criminals a temporary ſafety. On the heads of theſe perſons, and on all their members, a price was fixed by the laws. They received for their wearing apparel woollen cloth from the king, and linen from the queen. They were all aſſembled by the ſound of a horn.

CIVIL JURISPRUDENCE.

There were three ſpecies of courts; each of which enjoyed a diſtinct prerogative, with power to take cogniſance of offences, and to puniſh them: the royal, the epiſcopal, and the abbatial. When a perſon, ſubject to one of theſe juriſdictions, litigated with a perſon ſubject to another; the cauſe was tried by the judges of the reſpective courts conjunctively.

The royal courts, thoſe in which the judges ſat as the king's ſubſtitutes, were diſtinguiſhed into four kinds; the principal court, the courts of *cantrevs*, courts of *commots*, and extraordinary courts. The principal court was uſually held at the king's chief reſidence.

For the adminiſtration of juſtice in the *commots* and *cantrevs* remote from the principal court, inferior judges were appointed, with the title of chancellors; who alſo aſſiſted the officers of revenue, called Meiri, in collecting the taxes. Extraordinary courts were appointed by the king to hear and determine extraordinary cauſes; and to remedy the abuſes which had ariſen from a perverſion of the eſtabliſhed laws.

When the ordinary judges differed in points of law, the regular and ſecular canons were appointed in that caſe extraordinary judges.

The principal courts of North Wales and Powys conſiſted of the following officers appointed by the king: a judge, a chancellor, a provoſt, a clerk to regiſter the decrees of the court, and an apparitor to execute them. The courts of South Wales had the four laſt mentioned officers; with ſeveral judges who held their offices by virtue of the land they poſſeſſed, and received no fees.

All the courts were ſhut in ſpring, that plowing and ſowing might not be impeded; and in autumn on account of the harveſt. The judges were guided in their deciſions, not only by the code of national laws, but likewiſe by the *Brawd-lyfr*,[1] or Book of Reports,

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[1] The Book of Triads, and the Book of Reports, were private volumes written by Welſh lawyers. There was likewiſe a code of Welſh laws, called the laws of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, a prince poſterior to Howel. If an action was

ports, which contained precedents of the proceedings and decrees of their predeceſſors; and by the writings of Welſh lawyers, alſo, which were held in great eſtimation. A legal cauſe was that in which four perſons or parties were concerned: the king to preſide, the judge to examine and determine, the proſecutor, and the party accuſed. The accuſing party was bound over to proſecute; the party accuſed was obliged to find ſureties, who were impriſoned during the pendency of the ſuit. In any ſuit civil or criminal, a clerical plaintiff muſt proceed againſt a lay defendant in the king's court; and of conſequence, a lay plaintiff muſt proſecute his ſuit againſt his clerical adverſary in the eccleſiaſtical court.

Disputes concerning hereditary right were frequently decided by ſingle combat. Three ſorts of perſons, by the laws of Wales,

brought forward according to the laws of Bleddyn, the judge could not frame his judgment by the laws of Howel, and *vice verſa*.

might be killed with impunity; a madman, a foreigner, and a leper. No perſon was allowed to bequeath his property by teſtament; unleſs to the church, and for the payment of debts.

A WIFE was not allowed by law, to be a ſurety for her huſband, or an evidence for or againſt him. A married woman had no diſpoſal of any part of her huſband's property, either by ſale or purchaſe. A daughter was only entitled to a moiety of a ſon's ſhare of the father's perſonal property. Land and buildings were the only property which deſcended by hereditary ſucceſſion. Perſonal effects, under the regulation of the laws, were divided among the wife and children.

OF CAUSES BETWEEN SURETIES AND DEBTORS.

A DEBTOR was obliged to indemnify his ſurety by payment of the debt, or giving a pledge, or diſavowing the bail. In a cauſe of debtor and ſurety, the ſurety was required to ſwear that he had given bail, and was diſcharged from his ſuit and bail; if he refuſed to ſwear, he loſt the cauſe, and was obliged to pay the debt. A ſurety was indemnified, only by payment of the whole and not a part of the debt. The ſurety was not bound to diſcharge the debt, until the debtor had refuſed or failed; but the law provided againſt ſuch refuſal or failure, by empowering the ſurety to take a pledge from the debtor more than equivalent to the debt. If a debtor found a ſurety, and afterwards fled to an aſylum to evade payment; the law in that caſe deprived him of his right of aſylum. Utenſils of the church could not be pledged. The bail of a reſponſible perſon could not be refuſed. Notorious drunkards, lunatics, hermits, foreigners, and perſons in holy orders were incompetent to give bail, or to enter into any covenant, action, or perſonal obligation; as were likewiſe monks without the conſent of their abbots, vaſſals without the conſent of their lords, ſcholars without the conſent of their preceptors, ſons under the age of fourteen without the conſent of their fathers, and wives without the conſent of their huſbands; except ladies of manors, giving bail for their vaſſals.

OF COMPACTS.

A LEGAL compact was made by the meeting of the parties before a witneſs; declaring to him the nature of their compact, and joining their hands to his, under a promiſe of abiding by it. So very ſacred was a compact conſidered, that it could not be annulled even by an expreſs law.

OF THE SEVERAL CASES IN WHICH A SINGLE WITNESS WAS ADMISSIBLE.

A LORD, in a cauſe between two of his vaſſals, in which he himſelf was not concerned.

cerned. An abbot, between two of his monks. A father, between two of his ſons. A judge, concerning his own adjudication. A ſurety, in a cauſe concerning a matter for which he had given bail. A donor, in a cauſe concerning his own donation; or (according to other manuſcripts) a prieſt between two of his pariſhioners. A young woman concerning her own virginity. The public herdſman of a townſhip concerning the herd or flock under his care. A thief at the gallows concerning his accomplices.

It was uſual for a huſband to give preſents to his wife on the firſt morning after her marriage, and before ſhe aroſe out of bed; which preſents were conſidered as her own property; but if the wife neglected to ſeiſe this favourable opportunity, ſhe could never afterwards demand them.[1] This preſent was called *Egweddi* or *Cowyll*.

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[1] Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 80, 88.

In caſes of divorces among the Welſh, an equal diviſion of property took place, under certain limitations. If a wife was ſeparated from her huſband before the expiration of ſeven years ſhe was entitled to enjoy her *egweddi*. If ſeparated after ſeven years ſhe divided with her huſband all his property. If a wife ſeparated from her huſband for juſt cauſes ſhe retained her *egweddi*,[1] *parapharnalia*, and a fine called *goſyn*. A widow on the death of her huſband divided with his heirs the perſonal property. When a huſband, who had repudiated his firſt, took a ſecond wife, the former was at liberty to marry again. A woman was allowed to leave her huſband for the three following cauſes; leproſy, bad breath, and impotency; but in theſe caſes the huſband was under no obligation of dividing his property with the woman.

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[1] Howel Dha, chap. I. lib. II. p. 73.

CRIMINAL LAW.

An injury done to a ſingle woman was to be compenſated by half of that fine paid on the like occaſion for any injury done to her brother. The murder of either a married or ſingle woman was to be atoned for by half of the fine paid for the murder of her brother. For adultery, or even for indecent familiarities with a married woman, a fine was to be paid to the huſband by the male offender. The forcible violation, or carrying away a married woman, was compenſated by a triple augmentation of the mulct. A married woman, allowing indecent familiarities, or committing adultery with another man, might be divorced by her huſband, and in that caſe loſt her dower. The perſon who forcibly violated the chaſtity of a woman, was to pay a fine of twelve cows to the king; and the cuſtomary fine to the lord; and if the woman was a virgin, he was then to pay to her her *parapharnalia*, and the greateſt dower that could be exacted by law; together with the mulct uſually paid for violated chaſtity.[1] If either a man or a woman were accuſed of adultery, and denied the charge, the party accuſed might prove his innocence by the oaths of fifty perſons of the ſame ſex, who were neither ſlaves, captives, nor aliens.

PERJURY was puniſhed by the payment of a mulct of three cows to the king.

WHOEVER bailed a criminal, and did not produce him at the time of his legal appearance, was obnoxious to all the penalties to which the criminal himſelf was liable.

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[1] The ſeveral particulars, for which the author is indebted to the laws of Howel, are here inſerted from the text and Latin tranſlation of that curious code publiſhed by Dr. Wotton, folio, London. Ann. Dom. 1730. The author ſubjoins no references to the chapters or pages of that work; which is the only edition of the Welſh laws, becauſe the copious and accurate index annexed to it, will be a ready direction to the reader, who is deſirous of enquiring more particularly into the ſubject.

The ſole object of the law concerning the maiming of animals, was complete reſtitution to the owner; no other penalty being annexed to that offence.

Forfeiture of land was incurred in the three following caſes. A vaſſal giving notice to the enemy of the deſign of his lord, reſpecting any intended expedition. Treaſon againſt the perſon of his lord. And murder ſecretly perpetrated. But if the offender, by flight, ſhould eſcape juſtice, and ſhould afterwards be reconciled to his lord, he muſt in that caſe pay a double fine; but could not recover the inheritance of his land, unleſs he went to Rome, and there did penance; and procured alſo the Pope's letters that he had made his peace with God, and with his temporal lord.

There were three cauſes for which a man might give his wife perſonal correction. Wiſhing ſhame and evil to his beard. Committing any outrage againſt his perſon. And for engaging in an illicit connection with another man. If the huſband took the above mentioned ſatisfaction, of correcting his wife, he forfeited thoſe privileges which the law otherwiſe would have allowed him.

ON the death of Howel Dha, the late A. D. 948. ſovereign of the united principalities of Wales; Jeuav and Jago, the ſecond and third ſons of Edwal Voel, ſetting aſide from the ſucceſſion their eldeſt brother Meyric, aſſumed the government of North Wales.[1] To revenge upon the ſons of Howel Dha the injuries which theſe princes had received from the father, they invaded South Wales with a powerful army; laying claim to its ſovereignty as the eldeſt branch of the CYNETHIAN line; and though they met with a

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 59, 60.

ſpirited oppoſition on the Carno mountains, they gained a complete victory.[1] The year following, having renewed hoſtilities, the ſame princes again invaded South Wales, and deſolated by two ſucceſſive inroads the country of Pembroke. A. D. 952. The ſons of Howel Dha, collecting their utmoſt force, laid waſte, in their turn, the territory of North Wales as far as the river Conway. To check this invaſion, the two princes Jeuav and Jago, oppoſed them at Llanrwſt, a town ſituated on the banks of the Conway; where, after an obſtinate battle, in which many on each ſide of conſiderable rank were ſlain, fortune decided as before in their favour; and purſuing their enemies into South Wales, they deſtroyed the country of Cardigan with fire and ſword.[2] The ſons of Howel Dha, with a kind of retaliative juſtice, were at length obliged to ſubmit to the power of Jeuav and Jago; and in conſequence of this ſuperiority, theſe princes remained ſome years the entire ſovereigns of Wales.[a] Ambition and A. D. 958. the love of power univerſally prevail, and, in the conqueſt of barren mountains, inſpire the like ardour, with which Alexander contended for the ſovereignty of the world.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 59, 60. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 60, 61.

During this uſurpation, and probably elated with the ſucceſs of their arms, the kings of North Wales had neglected to pay the tribute which was due to the crown of England; agreeably to the impolitic inſtitution of Roderic the Great, and the more recent, but no leſs imprudent regulation in the laws of Howel Dha. To preſerve ſuch an ornament to his crown, and a badge of ſubordination ſo flattering to his pride, Edgar, the king of England, invaded North Wales; and as he marched through the country ſpread around the uſual devaſtations. Being A. D. 961. acquainted with the injuries both countries had received from the wolves, which then abounded in North Wales, and deſtroyed ſheep and other cattle; he remitted, with ſome degree of liberality, the ancient tribute; and only exacted the yearly payment of the heads of three hundred of thoſe animals.[1] This demand, ſo ſingular in its nature, was paid by the Welſh princes during three or four years; after that time, the wolves being nearly extirpated, this country, agreeably to the liberal deſign of Edgar, ought to have been releaſed from the payment of any future tribute.[2] Soon after this event, the Iriſh made a deſcent upon the iſland of Angleſey, deſtroyed the palace at Aberffraw, and ſlew A. D. 966. Roderic the youngeſt ſon of Edwal Voel.[3]

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[a] Welſh Chron. p. 60, 61.

The union, ſo long ſubſiſting between the princes of North Wales in a joint adminiſtration of twenty years, was at this period fatally diſſolved; an event ſoon followed by a ſeries of crimes, the conſequences of a divided ſovereignty, and of boſom friendſhip ſoured into deadly hatred.[1]

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[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 83. printed at London, A. D. 1614. Fabian's Chron. p. 249.

[2] W. Malmſbury, p. 59. Fabian, p. 249. Stowe's Chron. p. 83. Welſh Chron. p. 62. excepting only the number.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 62.

In conſequence of this diſunion, by force of arms, Jago ſeized the perſon of his brother Jeuav, and conſigned him to a tedious impriſonment. And Einion, the ſon of Owen prince of South Wales, taking advantage of theſe domeſtic feuds, annexed to his father's dominions the territory of Gwyr, in Glamorganſhire.[2] To add ſtill more to the diſtreſſes of the country, the Danes landed in Angleſey, and laid waſte the diſtrict about Penmon; and ſoon after, in another enterprize, they gained for a time the poſſeſſion of that iſland.[3]

A. D. 969.

These commotions having ſubſided, Howel, the ſon of Jeuav the captive prince, raiſed an army to deliver his father out of priſon;

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 62. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

and to take vengeance on his uncle Jago for the late outrage againſt natural affection and juſtice. Under the maſk of filial piety, which, however, covered the moſt fatal am-
A. D. 972. bition, Howel ſucceeded in his enterpriſe; having defeated the forces of Jago, and obliged him to abandon his territories. He likewiſe took priſoner in the action, Meyric, his eldeſt uncle; and to render him incapable of obſtructing his deſigns, he put out his eyes; a ſpecies of barbarity common in that age; and in this miſerable condition ſuffered him to languiſh in priſon. Within a little time after his captivity, this prince fortunately died; and left two ſons, Edwal and Jonaval. Howel, having proceeded ſo far in the progreſs of ambition, and too much enamoured of power to relinquiſh it eaſily, depoſed his father; though he releaſed him from the horrors of a tedious impriſonment.[1]

UNDER colour of revenging the injuries of his father, Howel, by acts of the deepeſt injuſtice and cruelty, attained to the ſovereignty of North Wales.[1] A. D. 973.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 62, 63.

It was an evil, peculiarly fatal to the independency of Wales, and produced by its civil diſſenſions; that the weaker party uſually fled for protection to the kings of England; and engaged in their intereſts with that energy of ſpirit, which ariſes from a ſenſe of injury, or is natural to men who have much to hope from the confuſion of a ſtate, or to fear from its juſtice.

After the defeat of Jago, that prince had retired into England; and eaſily engaged Edgar to reinſtate him upon the throne. The Engliſh king, deſirous of fomenting the diviſions of the Welſh, or of giving them a ſovereign ſubſervient to his will; entered into Wales with an army, and advanced to Bangor. Howel, unable to reſiſt his force, was obliged to accede to the demand of the Engliſh prince; of allowing an equal ſhare in the ſovereignty to his uncle Jago. Aſſuming a ſovereign authority, in conſequence of the aſcendency he had gained, Edgar founded a new church at Bangor, on the ſouth ſide of the cathedral, and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary; he likewiſe confirmed the ancient privileges of that See, and endowed it with land and other gifts.[1] To humiliate ſtill more the Welſh princes, he obliged Jago and his nephew Howel to accompany him to Cheſter. In this city, agreeably to his direction, he was met by ſix other ſovereigns;[2] who, all of them, with great ſolemnity did him homage, and took the cuſtomary oaths of fealty as to their lord paramount. This ceremony being finiſhed, Edgar, attended by great numbers of the nobility, ſeated himſelf at the helm of his barge; and as a farther mark of ſubordination, commanded theſe eight independent princes to row him up the Dee, from the palace where he reſided to the church of St. John the Baptiſt; whence he returned in the ſame ſtate, after divine ſervice was ended.[1] This inſtance of feudal arrogance, ſo diſgraceful to regal dignity, marked a faſtidious ſpirit in the Engliſh king, and a degree of barbariſm ſtill remaining in the Saxon manners.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 64.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 59.

[2] Kenneth king of Scotland, Malcolm king of Cumbria, Macon king of Man, with Dyſnwal, Sifrethus, and Ithel, three inferior Welſh princes.

At this period, Dunwallon, the prince of the Strath-Clwyd Britons, who had ſettled in North Wales; intimidated by the cruel ravages of the Danes, or influenced by the pious ſpirit of that age, retired to Rome, and engaged in a religious life.[2] On his retreat, that ſmall ſtate was reunited to the kingdom of North Wales.[3]

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[1] Selden's Mare Clauſum, p. 1315. Brompton's Chron. p. 869. Matth. Weſtm. p. 287.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 69. Welſh Chron. p. 65.

[3] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 32.

A. D. 976. Einion, the ſon of Owen prince of South Wales, made a ſecond inroad into the country of Gwyr, and laid waſte that territory. This affront would have been ſeverely reſented by Howel, the king of North Wales, if his arms at this time had not been directed againſt his uncle Jago, who was in open hoſtilities againſt him. With an army conſiſting of Engliſh and Welſh, Howel purſued that prince to the extremity of Wales, and at length took him priſoner; exhibiting an inſtance of generoſity very inconſiſtent with himſelf, by allowing his uncle Jago to enjoy, during life, his portion of territory.[1] But ſo capricious was this tyrant in his ideas of policy, or in his feelings of humanity, that ſoon after this event, he cauſed his uncle Edwal Vychan to be murdered; without any apparent cauſe, except what aroſe from the ſuggeſtions of jealouſy, or from a conſciouſneſs of guilt. This murder, inſtead of giving tranquility to Howel, produced freſh cauſes of fear, and a new object of terror ſprung from the Hydra's head.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 60.

Fired with the deepeſt reſentment, and with the hopes of diſpoſſeſſing him of the crown, Conſtantine the Black,* the ſon of Jago, who at this time was a priſoner to his nephew Howel, raiſed an army of Danes; and to revenge the injuries which his family had received, invaded North Wales, and laid waſte the iſland of Angleſey. But Howel, A. D. 979. who was not deficient in bravery though deſtitute of other vertues, collected his forces; and gave the Danes a ſignal defeat in a battle fought at Gwaith Hirbarth, in which young Conſtantine his couſin was ſlain.[1]

The Danes, mortified with the diſgrace their arms had received, renewed hoſtilities; and invading South Wales, deſolated the territory of Pembroke, and demoliſhed the church of St. David; but having fought the

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* *Cyſtenyn Ddu.*

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 65.

A. D. 981. celebrated battle of Llanwanoc, in which the Welſh army was probably commanded by prince Einion, they were forced to retire out of the country.[1] The year following, Alfred, earl of Mercia, with a large body of Engliſh, invaded South Wales. After he had deſtroyed the town of Brecknock, he was encountered by the united forces of the Welſh, under the command of Howel, king of North Wales, and Einion, the eldeſt ſon of Owen, prince of South Wales: in this battle the Mercian prince was defeated, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.[2] This occaſional junction of the Welſh princes, and the proſperous exertion of their force; might have taught them the ſalutary effects of union, and the expediency of conſolidating the national ſtrength.

A. D. 983. A COMMOTION having ariſen among the inhabitants of Gwent,[3] who were aiming at independency; Owen, the prince of South Wales, ſent his ſon Einion to endeavour by perſuaſion to reduce them to obedience; but that gallant youth found a raging multitude as little capable of reaſon or pity as the ſtormy ocean; and regarding him as the heir to the crown, and conſequently as the object of their fear and indignation, they tore him in pieces. Thus periſhed by an ignoble fate, a young prince, whoſe military talents and other virtues, had for ſome time very ably ſupported the cauſe of his country. He left two ſons, Edwyn and Tewdwr Mawr; from whoſe loins deſcended ſeveral of the princes of South Wales.[1]

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 61. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 66.

[3] Comprehending parts of the preſent counties of Monmouth and Hereford.

Howel, king of North Wales, availing himſelf of the leiſure which the late commotion had given him, increaſed his army; and in the following year marched into England; to retaliate on that country the devaſtations which the incurſions of the Engliſh had

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 66.

A. D. 984. brought upon Wales. In this expedition he was ſlain,[1] fighting againſt the enemies of his country, with a gallantry of ſpirit worthy the juſtice of his cauſe; but little ſuited to the tenor of his life, which has marked him to poſterity as a ſavage and ruthleſs tyrant.

A little before this period, terms of agreement were entered into by the legiſlatures of England and Wales, for ſecuring the peace of the borders; which might ſeem to put the two countries on an equal footing of independency.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 66.

[2] Saxon laws publiſhed by Wilkins, p. 125. from lord Lyttelton's Life Henry II. vol. II. p. 39. It appears however, that, during the reign of Howel Dha, this prince had diſpoſſeſſed Morgan Hen, the lord of Glamorgan, of certain diſtricts in that country, and that this diſpute was tried by Edgar, king of England, in a full court of the prelates and nobility of England and Wales, when the lands in diſpute were adjudged to Morgan Hen, and his heirs. Spelman's Concilia, p. 414.

The late prince Howel dying without iſſue, his brother Cadwallon, the ſecond ſon of Jeuav, took upon him the ſovereignty of North Wales; ſetting aſide the rightful ſucceſſion of Edwal and Jonaval, the ſons of Meyric his eldeſt uncle. Unſatisfied with this act of injuſtice, and to fix himſelf, as he thought, more ſecurely upon the throne, he determined on the deſtruction of his couſins; a practice very common with uſurpers; who, beſides the uſual incitements of ambition, are urged to that barbarous policy by the principle of ſelf-preſervation. Jonaval, the eldeſt of theſe princes, fell into his hands, and was privately murdered; but Edwal had the good fortune to make his eſcape; and to ſee deſerved chaſtiſement fall upon the heads of thoſe, whoſe injuſtice and cruelty had brought ſuch calamities on his family. For Cadwallon had only been in poſſeſſion of the government one year, and his hands were ſcarcely cold from the blood of his kinſman; when Meredydh, the ſon of Owen, the reign-

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A. D. 985. ing prince of South Wales, invaded his dominions, and ſlew that uſurper, with his brother Meyric.[1]

In conſequence of his victory, Meredydh, who ruled in Powis by right of his mother, took poſſeſſion of the kingdom of North Wales.[2] A. D. 986. But the Danes invading Angleſey ſome time after this event, and having taken Llywarch his brother priſoner, with two thouſand of his men, they put out his eyes. Intimidated by this diſaſter, and wounded by the cruel fate of his brother, Meredydh fled into his own country; leaving his new ſubjects expoſed to the ravages of the Danes: and, to heighten their calamities, without a ſovereign, and probably without any regular police, a diſtemper fell on their cattle; which raged with ſo much violence as to leave very few remaining in the country.[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 67.

[2] Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 14.

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 65.

Jeuav, the ſon of Edwal Voel died at this time; cloſing the evening of his days in peace and retirement; after he had ſpent the greateſt part of his life in action, and amidſt the ſtorms of ambition.[1] A. D. 987.

This event was ſoon followed by the death of Owen, the ſon of Howel Dha, and prince of South Wales.[2] Upon his deceaſe, Meredydh his youngeſt ſon; diſregarding the rights of his two nephews, the ſons of Einion his eldeſt brother, aſſumed the reins of government; agreeably to the licentious ſpirit of the times, and the irregular courſe of ſucceſſion.[3] In the beginning of his reign, the Danes invaded South Wales; laid waſte the country, and deſtroyed, with a marked animoſity, the churches of St. David, Llanbadarn, and other religious places. Unable to check their devaſtations, Meredydh agreed A. D. 988. to pay them, on condition of their relinquiſhing the country, one penny for every

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 70. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

perſon within his dominions.[1] But this tribute,[2] ſo deluſive and diſhonourable; and ſo miſerable a ſubſtitute for valour and exertion, was never paid, it may be recorded to their honour, by any of the kings of North Wales. Soon after this event, Edwyn, the nephew of Meredydh, and eldeſt ſon of Einion the right heir to the principality of South Wales; having engaged in his intereſt the Saxons and Danes, over-ran that country with a great army; and obliged the principal chieftains to acknowledge his ſovereign-
A. D. 990. ty, and to give him hoſtages for their future fidelity. To retaliate upon Edwyn this invaſion, Meredydh laid waſte the lands ſubject to the authority of his rival; but on a ſudden, when the flames of civil war had deſolated the country, and had produced a
A. D. 991. famine, an accommodation took place. The death of the only ſon of Meredydh, which

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 71.

[2] It was called Glwmaen, the tribute of the black army.

happened ſoon after, cemented more cloſely the union of theſe princes.[1]

During this conteſt, North Wales had been left without a ſovereign, expoſed to the ravages of every invader; and in conſequence the Danes landed again in Angleſey, and laid waſte the whole iſland. On this emergency, but not on the deſertion of Meredydh; a caprice only to be accounted for from the ſingular levity of the times; the people placed A. D. 992. Edwal, the ſon of Meyric, and the right heir to the crown, in the ſovereignty of North Wales; the lineal ſucceſſion having been ſet aſide by the late uſurpations.[2]

On the acceſſion of this prince, he began to regulate the affairs of his kingdom; and to place his ſubjects in ſuch a poſture of defence, as might ſecure them from the incurſions of the Danes, or of other invaders; and he ſoon experienced the ſalutary effects of ſuch a wiſe and ſpirited conduct.[1] For, Meredydh, prince of South Wales, unwilling that his new dominions ſhould be ſo eaſily torn from him, invaded North Wales with a powerful army; and having advanced to Llangwm, in the preſent county of Denbigh, he was met by Edwal, and entirely defeated; loſing in the action his nephew Tewdwr Mawr, the youngeſt ſon of the late prince Einion.[2] The proſperity of Edwal was of ſhort duration. He had ſcarcely returned into his own dominions, elated with ſucceſs, and exulting in the hopes of enjoying his dominions in peace; when Swane, a Daniſh chieftain, landed in North Wales. Edwal, diſdaining to purchaſe an uncertain tranquility at the expence of his honour, determined to expel the Danes by force of arms, or to periſh in the enterpriſe. In this gallant attempt he was ſlain, leaving an only A. D. 993. ſon called Jago.[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 71.

[2] Ibid.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 72. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. p. 73.

A. D. 998. Soon after this event, the Danes ravaged again the city of St. David; ſlew the biſhop of that dioceſe; and meeting with no reſiſtance, laid waſte the adjacent territory. Unable to give a check to their ravages, and perhaps aſhamed of his late timid and unavailing policy, Meredydh ſunk under the calamities of his country, and died of grief; leaving only a daughter named Angharad, married to Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt; and after his death to Cynvyn Hirdref. By each of theſe huſbands ſhe had children, whoſe different claims occaſioned great civil commotions in Wales.[1]

Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, by right of his wife, ſucceeded to the principality of South Wales.[2]

This part of the hiſtory of Wales is only a recital of reciprocal inroads and injuries, a ſeries of objects unvaried and of little importance, which paſs the eye in a ſucceſſion of cold delineations; like the evaneſcent figures produced by the *camera obſcura*. The characters and events are not brought diſtinctly into view, nor are they ſufficiently explained; to enable the hiſtorian to judge of their proportions, their beauty, or defects; whence he can neither develope the principles of action, nor trace the connection of cauſes with effects, by leading incidents, or by the general ſprings which govern human affairs. There is therefore danger leſt the reader, whoſe eye has been accuſtomed to more brilliant ſcenes, ſhould turn away in diſguſt from a field, ſo ſterile in itſelf, and which yields ſo little to the arts of cultivation.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 73.

[2] Ibid. p. 83.

Jago, the ſon of Edwal the late king of North Wales, being ſet aſide in the ſucceſſion on account of his tender years, ſeveral competitors aroſe; and in conſequence North Wales exhibited many years a ſcene of the utmoſt confuſion. The moſt eminent of theſe rivals were Cynan, the ſon of Howel, deſcended from the royal line; and a chieftain of the name of Ædan ap Blegored, who founded his pretenſions to the crown ſolely on his ambition and valour. Two rival chiefs, of warlike and iraſcible manners, are ſeldom diſpoſed to adjuſt their claims by the ſlow procedures of negotiation or policy; but refer them to the more prompt deciſion of the ſword, the chief arbitrator of rights in theſe turbulent ages. In a battle which immediately enſued, Cynan was ſlain; and in A. D. 1003. conſequence Ædan ap Blegored was proclaimed ſovereign of North Wales.[1]

Having aſſumed the government, no remarkable incident occurred for ſome years; until the prince of South Wales invading A. D. 1015. Ædan's dominions, diſpoſſeſſed him of his royalty and life. The four ſons of the uſurper were alſo ſlain in the ſame battle with their father.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 74, 83.

Llewelyn ap Seisyllt, in conſequence of his victory, and diſregarding the rights of Jago the ſon of Edwal, took upon him the A. D. 1015. government of North Wales; annexing that dignity to the two other principalities. This prince, maternally deſcended from the royal blood of Wales, had ſome colourable pretence for his ambition; his mother Trawſt being the daughter of Elis, the ſecond ſon of Anarawd, who was the eldeſt ſon of Roderic the Great.[1]

The wiſe adminiſtration of Llewelyn ſoon produced national proſperity. To expreſs the felicity of his reign, contraſted with the preceding times, we are told, “ that the
“ earth brought forth double; that the
“ people proſpered in all their affairs, and
“ multiplied wonderfully; and that the cattle
“ increaſed in ſuch numbers, that there was
“ not a poor man in Wales, from the

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[1] Brit. Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 14. Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 79.

" ſouthern to the northern ſea; but every " man had plenty, every houſe a dweller, " and every town inhabitants."[1] The ſlight touches which hiſtory has given of the character of Llewelyn, preſent him in an amiable point of view. His talents for war and for command, his love of order and of juſtice; which had enabled him ſo early to diffuſe happineſs among his ſubjects, ought to have rendered him the object of their warmeſt affections. But ſo little civilized, and ſo turbulent were the Welſh; delighting more in war than in the habits of cultivated life, that they treated with coldneſs and ingratitude a ſovereign, whoſe qualities, in a milder period, would have rendered him the object of love and veneration.

A. D. 1019. The firſt appearance of diſaffection broke out in the rebellion of Meyric, a chieftain of eminence; but was eaſily checked by Llewelyn, who ſlew the traitor with his own hands, and defeated his forces.[1] So alienated from their loyalty were the people of South Wales, that they engaged a Scotſman of mean birth to be the inſtrument of their deſign; impoſing him upon the world as the ſon of their late prince Meredydh; and by the name of Rhun, the diſaffected chieftains proclaimed this impoſtor their ſovereign.[2] A.D. 1020. The annals of theſe times do not explain the motives of this extraordinary procedure; nor are we able from ſuch a chaos to throw any light upon the cauſes of the revolt; except from the reſentment which his ſubjects in that country might feel, becauſe Llewelyn, having been many years their ſovereign, had for ſome time taken up his reſidence in North Wales. That prince, having intelligence of the rebellion, collected his forces, and marched into South Wales, to give an early check to the evil at its ſource; and having advanced to Abergwili[1] in Caermarthenſhire, he found the whole power of the country, waiting his approach, under the command of the newly created prince. At the moment, when the two armies were going to engage, Rhun encouraged his ſoldiers by a confident aſſurance of victory; after which he privately retired out of the battle. Llewelyn, boldly confronting the danger, and placing himſelf at the head of his troops, led them on to the charge; calling aloud upon the Impoſtor, whoſe cowardice ſo little juſtified the character he had aſſumed. This battle was bloody, and on each ſide diſputed with great ſpirit; for ſtrange as it may appear, the rebels fought, with a determined bravery, for a deſpicable coward, and for an idol of their own raiſing; while the royaliſts were ſcarcely animated in the cauſe of their ſovereign, a native of their country, and of ſuch incomparable merit. At length, the troops of Llewelyn, fired with the extraordinary valour of their prince, and aſhamed to be defeated by men over whom they had been often victorious, made a vigorous effort; which put the enemy to flight; and the Impoſtor, notwithſtanding the addreſs he had made uſe of to ſave his life, was overtaken and ſlain in the purſuit. Having thus fortunately put an end to the rebellion, Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt returned into North Wales.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 84.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 85.

[2] Ibid.

The ſmall remainder of his days this prince paſſed in tranquillity; but his great and virtuous qualities could not exempt him from the deſtiny which uſually attended the princes of Wales. A. D. 1021. For Howel and Meredydh, the ſons of Edwyn,* whoſe family for ſome years had been ſet aſide in the ſucceſſion of South Wales, engaged in a conſpiracy againſt him; and either by their emiſſaries, or with their own hands, aſſaſſinated this brave and amiable prince. He left only one ſon of the name of Gryffydh.[2] This prince erected the caſtle of Rhuddlan, in which palace he uſually reſided; and which afterwards continued to be the royal reſidence during the life of his ſon.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 85, 86.

* Ap Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha. The word *ap*, which ſo frequently occurs in Welſh names, ſignifies a *ſon*.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 85, 86.

The principle of evil which eventually deſtroyed the Britiſh empire, ſtill remained in the political conſtitution and in the national character of the Welſh; preying, like a worm at the root, on the vital powers of their different ſtates; and by uniform and ſlow degrees working their decline and ultimate ruin. Beſides other cauſes of national decay, there was one; which, though a ſtriking defect in their anceſtors the Britons, was not inherent in their own government or manners; and that was, except in a ſingle inſtance, a total inattention to their naval power; although its utility was apparent from their maritime ſituation, and alſo from the late example of Alfred. That a prince, like Llewelyn, of ability and vigour, and who was anxious to promote the happineſs of his people, ſhould have neglected ſuch an obvious mode of defence, is a proof that he poſſeſſed no extent of genius, or that his reſources were limited.

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[1] Dr. Powel's Notes on Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. Cambræ, cap. X. p. 213. Camden's Brit. p. 687.

The odium naturally excited by the murder of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, precluded Howel and Meredydh from any chance of attaining to the ſovereignty of North Wales; and afforded Jago the ſon of Edwal ap Meyric, whoſe title had ſunk under the popularity or vigour of the late prince, a favourable opportunity of obtaining poſſeſſion of the crown; A. D. 1021. from which his family, lineally deſcended from Roderic the Great, had been long unjuſtly excluded.[1]

Rhytherch, the ſon of Jeſtin, by force of arms, had aſſumed the government of South Wales. The two brothers, Howel and Meredydh, diſappointed in their views upon one kingdom, and excluded their rightful ſucceſſion in their own principality, were forced, through mere inability, to remain ſome years in quiet; but having engaged in their ſervice a body of Iriſh Scots, they defeated and ſlew the uſurper; and in their joint names took upon them the government of South Wales. The ſons of Rhytherch, A. D. 1031. having raiſed freſh forces, fought another battle at Hyarthwy with the princes of South Wales; but with no better ſucceſs than their father had experienced; their army being ſo effectually routed, that for many years they were unable to ſupport their pretenſions to the crown.[1] Theſe victories might have ſecured to Howel and Meredydh, the quiet poſſeſſion of their dominions; if the ſpirit of revenge, kept alive in that age by every incitement which influence the paſſions, had not retaliated on theſe princes the murder of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt; for the nephews of that prince engaged in a conſpiracy againſt A. D. 1032. them, aſſaſſinated Meredydh,[2] and forced

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 87, 88.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 87, 88.

[2] Ibid. p. 88.

Howel the other brother into exile.[1] The feelings of humanity are wounded at the recital of ſuch horrid barbarities; and we haſten with pleaſure to a period, when the virtue of a few individuals influenced the tide of affairs, and turned it from the loweſt ebb of weakneſs and miſery, to a flow of national proſperity.

Gryffydh the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt, had, by this time, attained to the age of manhood; and, already weary of waſting his active ſpirit in the ſhade of retirement, he reſolved to employ it in the glorious attempt of recovering his father's throne. His youth and activity, and the popular memory of his father, with the pleaſing and flattering proſpect of novelty, united the public voice in his favour. But Jago, the reigning king of North Wales, not of a ſpirit to relinquiſh eaſily the charms of royalty and his indubitable right, collecting all the force he was able, attempted with great courage to oppoſe the popular current; his army, however, was defeated by Gryffydh, and he himſelf ſlain in the action, leaving an only ſon named Cynan.[1] A. D. 1037.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 85.

Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, was ſcarcely ſeated on the throne, when the united forces of the Engliſh and Danes entered into Wales. With a promptneſs of courage, natural to his years and character, the young prince advanced to the frontier of his kingdom; and meeting the confederates at Crosford on the banks of the Severn, he entirely defeated their forces.[2] Elated with ſucceſs, he proceeded thence into South Wales; and marching through that principality, received the ſubmiſſion of the inhabitants; having, a ſecond time, driven Howel, the ſurviving brother, out of his dominions. But that prince, retiring to Edwyn, the brother of Leofric earl of Cheſter, raiſed by his means an army of Engliſh and Danes; with which he marched into Wales againſt Gryffydh. Fortune, however, continuing propitious, that prince overthrew the foreigners, ſlew Edwyn, and again forced Howel to a precipitate flight.[1] Soon after this victory, Gryffydh returned into North Wales.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 89. [2] Ibid. p. 90.

A. D. 1038. Howel the prince of South Wales, having reinforced his army, made another attempt to recover his dominions; and too ſanguine of ſucceſs, he brought his wife into the field, to ſhare in the triumphs of a victory he was in full expectation of obtaining.[3] Gryffydh receiving intelligence of this event, marched with his uſual celerity into South Wales; and meeting Howel at Pencadaer in Caermarthenſhire, he there gave him battle, and entirely defeated his army. The unhappy prince eſcaped with difficulty; and, to render his fate more deplorable, his wife was taken priſoner, and fell into the hands of his rival. The beauty of this lady captivated the heart of her conqueror. Inſtead of protecting her honour, or yielding up this princeſs to her injured huſband, ſhe was detained by Gryffydh as his concubine.[1] In times leſs ſavage than theſe, ſuch an action, meaſured by civilized ideas of heroiſm; incapable of offering violence to weakneſs, or of inſulting the feelings of a vanquiſhed enemy; would have been received with general abhorrence. But it does not appear, that Gryffydh loſt any reputation with his ſubjects; the Welſh regarding whatever they had taken in war, even the wives of the vanquiſhed, as the lawful property of the conqueror.[2] So great is the force of habit upon the human mind, as to counteract the firſt and the nobleſt principles of nature and religion.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 91. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid.

STUNG with the keen reſentment which ſuch injuries would naturally excite, Howel came A. D. 1041.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 91. [2] Lord Lyttelton's Henry II.

the third time into South Wales; in hopes of revenging the late inſult upon his honour, and by another brave effort to recover his wife and his crown. He had not been there long before a large body of foreigners landed in the country; who, ſpreading themſelves abroad, committed great depredations. Howel, though deſirous of reſerving his ſtrength for the main conteſt with the king of North Wales, could not be indifferent to their ravages; but with much gallantry of ſpirit, and with an honeſt deſire of conciliating the affections of the Welſh, he ſuddenly attacked the foreigners, and forced them with great loſs to retire to their ſhips.[1]

In the courſe of theſe events the attention of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn had been engaged in an affair of ſome importance. Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, who on his father's death had fled into Ireland for ſafety; having engaged in his intereſt the king of Dublin, whoſe daughter he had married, landed in North Wales; and either by accident, or by a ſtratagem of his own, contrived to take Gryffydh priſoner. But the Welſh, being appriſed of the diſaſter, and anxious for the ſafety of their king, purſued the Iriſh; recovered him out of their hands; and following them with great ſlaughter to their ſhips, obliged them to return into Ireland.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 92.

Howel, the prince of South Wales, by A. D. 1038. the aſſiſtance of the Danes, and of thoſe friends who ſtill adhered to his fortunes; raiſed ſuch a force as might enable him once again to make head againſt Gryffydh. That prince, alive to his intereſts, and that his own territories might not be rendered the ſeat of war, inſtantly marched into the enemy's country; and defeating the forces of A. D. 1042. his rival, purſued them to the ſource of the Towi, a river in Caermarthenſhire; where a ſecond action more bloody than the former enſued; in which the unfortunate Howel was ſlain, and the greater part of his army cut in pieces.[1] Thus was the full meaſure of vengeance poured upon the heads of this prince and his family, for the murder they had lately committed on Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 93.

New competitors aroſe, on the death of Howel, to diſpute with Gryffydh the ſovereignty of South Wales. Theſe were the ſons of Rhytherch ap Jeſtyn; who aſſerted their claim to that principality, becauſe their father for a little time had enjoyed its government. Their pretenſions were oppoſed by Gryffydh, with his uſual activity and vigour; but not with the ſame deciſive good fortune; for after a bloody and obſtinate engagement which laſted until night, both armies, equally fatigued and unwilling to renew the combat, returned to their reſpective countries in order to collect reinforcements.[2] Excepting a ſlight inſurrection which was eaſily repelled, the two States, however, enjoyed, under the dominion of Gryffydh, from cauſes not accounted for in the Welſh annals, a ſeaſon of unaccuſtomed tranquility.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 92. [2] Ibid.

It was, probably, during this interval of peace, that Gryffydh appears to have paid ſome attention to naval concerns, by procuring from a foreign country a few ſhips of war, which were manned by foreign ſailors. Though the motives do not appear which induced him to an undertaking ſo novel to the Welſh; yet it aroſe, no doubt, from the obvious policy of ſecuring from ravages the maritime parts of his dominions; and of importing corn and other proviſion from foreign markets.[1]

Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, having A. D. 1050. remained quiet in Ireland, ſince his late fruitleſs attempt, collected a body of troops among his Iriſh adherents; with a view to recover, if poſſible, his inheritance, and hereditary dignity of his family; but approaching the coaſt of North Wales, there ſuddenly aroſe a violent ſtorm; which deſtroyed or diſperſed his fleet in ſuch a manner, as to render the expedition ineffectual.[1]

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II.

This interval of peace little ſuiting the warlike ſpirit of Gryffydh, he made an inro into the marches about Hereford; and was oppoſed by the Engliſh, and by a Norman garriſon in that caſtle. But the conteſt hav-
A. D. 1052. ing ended in favour of the Welſh prince, he returned into his own dominions enriched with the ſpoils of the country.[2]

Rhys, the brother of Gryffydh king of North Wales, a man of a bold and enterpriſing ſpirit, having committed frequent depredations in the Engliſh marches, had become, on that account, the object of particular reſentment. Being defeated and taken priſoner

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 94.

[2] Stowe, p. 96. Roger Hovedon, p. 442.

in an incurſion he had made on the borders;
he was put to death at Bulundune, by the
command of king Edward the Confeſſor,
who in this inſtance aſſumed a ſovereign au- A. D. 1053.
thority; and his head was ſent to that
prince, who then kept his court at Glou-
ceſter.[1]

Gryffydh, the ſon of Rhytherch ap
Jeſtyn, having recovered from the blow
which he had formerly received, at this time
raiſed an army; to endeavour once again to
wreſt the principality of South Wales from
Gryffydh, the king of North Wales. The
activity of this prince defeated his ambitious A. D. 1054.
deſign; for, inſtantly marching againſt him,
he eaſily routed his forces, and his competi-
tor was ſlain in the action.[2]

An incident which happened ſoon after enabled Gryffydh to revenge his brother's death, and the inſult which had been offered to the independency of his crown.

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[1] Simon Dunelme ſub. Ann. 1053. Stowe's Chron. p. 97. Matth. Weſtm. p. 323. Hiſt. Angl.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 98.

ALGAR earl of Cheſter, having been baniſhed by Edward the Confeſſor, on ſlight ſuſpicion, or on no grounds of offence, had retired into Ireland; where engaging in his ſervice eighteen veſſels, he landed in North Wales, and put himſelf under the protection of Gryffydh. Theſe leaders, acting in conjunction with each other, ravaged the borders of England; and actuated by the ſame ſpirit of vengeance, they proceeded into Herefordſhire, and laid waſte that fertile country. To oppoſe this dangerous inroad, Ranulph earl of Hereford, raiſed an army compoſed of Engliſh and Norman troops. With this force he met the confederates advancing within two miles of Hereford, and offered them battle. Gryffyd acccepted the challenge, with all that confidence which long ſucceſs naturally inſpires. The earl had ordered the Engliſh forces to fight upon horſeback, con-

A. D. 1055.

trary to the cuſtom of their nation; but when all was prepared to begin the onſet, that nobleman, and the Norman troops which he himſelf commanded, fled out of the field; daunted by the appearance of the Welſh, or not able to ſtand the ſhock of their furious charge. The Engliſh ſoon followed the example of their leader; and the Welſh, purſuing them with great rapidity, cut in pieces four or five hundred of the fugitives; and having entered into Hereford, they burned the minſter, and ſlew ſeven of the canons who raſhly attempted to defend it: they then levelled the walls, and ſet the city on fire; and putting to death many perſons of note, and carrying others into captivity, they returned in triumph, loaded with much valuable ſpoil.[1]

The pacific ſpirit of the Confeſſor was rouſed by this formidable invaſion; and he commanded Harold, the ſon of earl Godwin, to collect forces from every part of the kingdom; which were to aſſemble at Glouceſter. At the head of this army that general marched into North Wales; and advancing, without any reſiſtance, to the Snowdun mountains,[1] he lay there encamped, expecting the approach of the enemy. Unable to oppoſe the Engliſh forces, Gryffydh, and the earl of Cheſter, retired into South Wales. As ſoon as Harold was informed of their retreat, he returned to Hereford; leaving however the greateſt part of his army, to preſerve his conqueſts, and give an early check to any future reſiſtance of the natives. During his reſidence in that city, he rebuilt its walls, and added new fortifications to that frontier poſt. He alſo entered into a negociation with Gryffydh; and at length concluded a peace not much to the honour of England; as Algar was indulged with a pardon, and the full enjoyment of his earldom; and no compenſation appears to have been made for the ravages, or the expence of the war.[1] The peace being concluded, that nobleman returned with his fleet to Cheſter; where the mariners and ſoldiers remained until they had received their pay.[2] Algar then repaired to the court of Edward, and obtained from that prince the confirmation of his pardon and dignity.[3] It is not eaſy to account for the conduct of Harold, in retreating ſo ſuddenly out of Wales; and in concluding ſo diſhonourable a peace with the Welſh, over whom his arms had gained an unuſual advantage.

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[1] Saxon Chron. p. 169. Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.

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[1] Saxon Chron. p. 169. Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.

The eaſy victory lately obtained over the Engliſh and Normans, though completely and heavily armed; added to the uſual incitements of plunder and national hatred; induced Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, in open violation of the peace, to make another inroad into the country about Hereford. In this incurſion the biſhop of that dioceſe[1] was ſlain at Glaſtonbury; as well as the viſcompte, or ſheriff of the county; and many of the Engliſh alſo, both laymen and eccleſiaſtics.[2]

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[1] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.

[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Holinſhead's Engliſh Hiſt. p. 192.

[3] Roger Hovedon, p. 443, 444. Simon Dunelme, p. 188. Matth. Weſtm. p. 324.

Though the late peace had been broken by this violent outrage, no repriſals appear to have been made; and through the mediation of Harold, and of Leofric earl of Mercia, the tranquility of theſe hoſtile nations was for a time reſtored.[3]

A person in the ſituation of Algar, muſt hold the favour of his prince by a very precarious tenure; as the clemency of ſovereigns is uſually of uncertain duration, when extorted by force or expediency. Lying again under the ſuſpicion of treaſon, he was a A. D. 1058. ſecond time baniſhed the realm; and ſought an aſylum in the dominions of Gryffydh the king of North Wales; by whoſe aid, and the aſſiſtance of a fleet from Norway, which accidentally arrived upon the coaſt, he was once more reinſtated in his earldom.[1] Edward, A. D. 1063. juſtly incenſed at the late barbarities, and violation of faith; and dreading, no doubt, the conſequence if Wales ſhould become the refuge of his malecontent ſubjects, determined to employ the whole force of his kingdom in the conqueſt of that country. He truſted the execution of this important deſign to Harold, the moſt diſtinguiſhed nobleman in his court for valour and abilities.[2] This general, having raiſed a very conſiderable army, marched with ſuch celerity and conduct into North Wales, that he had nearly ſurpriſed Gryffydh in his palace at Rhudd-lan. The Welſh prince, ſcarcely appriſed of his danger a moment before the Engliſh preſented themſelves at the gates, as the only means of ſafety, threw himſelf, with a few of his attendants, into one of his ſhips, at that time equipped in the harbour; and ſailing that inſtant, fortunately made his eſcape.[1] The looſe annals of theſe times do not inform us to what country he retired in his diſtreſs.

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 325. Roger Hovedon, p. 144.

[2] Sim. Dunelme, p. 188.

[3] Simon Dunelme, p. 189. Roger Hovedon, p. 444.

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[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 189. Roger Hovedon, p. 444.

[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Matth. Weſtm. p. 329.

Mortified that the Welſh king ſhould eſcape ſo unexpectedly out of his hands, Harold, in reſentment, burned his palace; and ſet on fire all the ſhips of war and the other veſſels remaining in the harbour of Rhudd-lan.[2] He then returned to Briſtol; and having fitted out a fleet, on a new plan of deciſive operation, he ſailed round the coaſt of Wales;[1] with a view, no doubt, of preventing the importation of corn and of other proviſions.

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[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446. Matth. Weſt. p. 329.

[2] Ibid.

In the mean time, a ſtrong body of horſe, under the command of earl Toſti, the brother of Harold, marched, by the previous command of the Engliſh king, into North Wales.[2] As ſoon as the Engliſh general had intelligence of the arrival of his brother, he landed, and joined him with his infantry; leaving his fleet, with orders to cruize as before along the coaſt of Wales.[3] On the junction of theſe troops, Harold made himſelf maſter of the level country.[4] Being ſenſible, in ſuch a country as Snowdun, that his ſoldiers ought not to be encumbered by their arms, he provided his infantry with targets made of hides, and other lighter kinds of armour;[5] more ſuitable for ſervice in a mountainous region broken by rivers, defiles and foreſts. His cavalry he left on the plains under the command of his brother; excepting only a few horſe, which, ſupported by ſmall parties of heavy armed infantry, he ordered to follow as a body of reſerve. Marching himſelf at the head of his troops, he advanced into the mountainous parts of the country; and having driven the Welſh, with great ſlaughter, out of their inmoſt receſſes, he at length compelled them to ſue for peace.[1] Thus, by the united effects of vigour, activity and conduct, coinciding with other cauſes, did Harold ſubdue a people who had been hitherto invincible. In want of the animating preſence and ſpirited activity of their prince, without the means of concerting neceſſary meaſures of defence, and probably ſtraightened for proviſions; it is no wonder that the Welſh, ſurpriſed and diſpirited, ſhould ſink under the impreſſion of the Engliſh arms. On this occaſion Harold ſet up ſeveral pillars of ſtone; on each of which was engraved this Latin inſcription, *Hic Fuit Victor Haraldus*; to perpetuate the glory of having paſſed mountains, which had hitherto been the inacceſſible barriers between the ſpirit of freedom and the rage of conqueſt.[1]

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[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Roger Hovedon, p. 446.

[2] Ibid. [3] Ld. Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 47.

[4] Ibid. [5] Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 68. Gale's Script.

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[1] Camden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibſon's edition, from Giraldus Cambrenſis.

So totally ſubdued were the Welſh, that they ſubmitted to the tribute which in ancient times they had uſually paid; and gave hoſtages to Harold, as pledges of their future obedience.[2] Under the impreſſion of fear, or incenſed at his late deſertion, they, likewiſe, renounced allegiance to Gryffydh, their ſovereign.[3]

Considering his active and warlike ſpirit, we can attribute the abſence of Gryffydh to no other cauſe, than to the general diſaffection of his ſubjects; at a time, too, when his own intereſts, and the very ſafety of his country demanded his preſence. Whatever were his motives of abſence, whether the revolt of his ſubjects, or inability to return on account of the Engliſh fleet, this prince came into North Wales in the ſummer of the following year.[1] As ſoon as he landed, he A. D. 1064. attempted to aſſert his own rights, and to vindicate the common cauſe againſt Harold; who, by the incitement of Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had invaded South Wales, and had ſubdued a great part of that country.[2] Inſtead of rejoicing at his preſence, or eagerly ranging under his ſtandard, this gallant prince was put to death by his own ſubjects, at the inſtigation of Harold, and during his march into South Wales.[3] As the firſt fruits of their vaſſalage, this improvident and ungrateful people ſent his head to the Engliſh general; together with the prow of the ſhip in which he had returned.[1] Beſides two ſons, Meredydh and Ithel, Gryffydh left a daughter called Neſt; who was afterwards married to Trahaern ap Caradoc, king of North Wales.[2]

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[1] Camden's Britannia, p. 545, Gibſon's edition, from Giraldus Cambrenſis.

[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Matth. Weſtm. p. 329.

[3] Ibid. Hiſt. Ingulphi. p. 68. Matt. Weſt. p. 329.

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 48.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 101. [3] Ibid.

In this manner died Gryffydh the ſon of Llewelyn ap Seiſyllt; whoſe princely qualities entitled him to a happier fate. His talents for government, and the vigour and proſperity of his arms, ſoon turned the tide of affairs, vindicated the honour of his kingdom, and gave it an unuſual importance. His amiable manners, and his abilities in war, made him equally the idol of his people, and the terror of his enemies; and had rendered a reign of thirty-four years unclouded by any adverſity; until the late ſtorm, which perhaps it was not in his power either to elude or repel, in ſome meaſure ſhaded its glory, and deprived this excellent prince of his life, and his country of its freedom.

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[1] Sim. Dunelme, p. 191.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 95, 101.

It is but too probable, that this foul murder was perpetrated, through the influence of Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, the ſons of Cynvyn by Angharad, the mother of the late king; as theſe princes were, by the appointment of king Edward, inveſted, on this occaſion, with the ſovereignty of North Wales and Powys.[1] At the ſame time, the Engliſh king gave the principality of South Wales to Meredydh, the eldeſt ſon of Owen ap Edwyn.[2] Theſe princes were obliged to take an oath of fealty to the king of England, and to pay the full tribute, which ever had been paid to any of his predeceſſors.[3] A law, at this time, was made by earl Harold, which enacts, that if any Welſhman, coming into

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 102. Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Wm. Malmſbury, p. 94. [2] Welſh Chron. p. 102.

[3] Matth. Weſt. p. 329. Sim. Dunelme, p. 191. Chr. de Mailros, p. 159.

England without licence, was taken on that ſide of Offa's dyke, his right hand ſhould be cut off. This ſtatute ſhews, that, ſo late as the reign of Edward the Confeſſor, this dyke was conſidered as the diſcriminating line between the two nations.[1]

An incident happened in the late reign, which though not very ſtriking at firſt, at length aroſe into hiſtorical importance. Macbeth, the tyrant of Scotland, having cauſed Banquo to be murdered, of whoſe integrity and influence he was jealous; his ſon Fleance, to avoid the tyranny of that uſurper, fled into North Wales,[2] and was kindly received by Gryffydh ap Llewelyn; in whoſe court he was long entertained with the warmeſt affection. During his reſidence in the Welſh court, he became enamoured of Nêſt, the daughter of that prince; and violating the laws of hoſpitality and honour, by an illicit connection with her, ſhe was delivered of a ſon who was named Walter. In reſentment of ſo foul an offence, Gryffydh commanded Fleance to be put to death; and reduced his daughter to the loweſt ſervile ſituation, for having ſuffered herſelf to be diſhonoured by a foreigner. As the youth, who was the fruit of this illicit connection, advanced in years, he became diſtinguiſhed for his valour and an elevated mind. A diſpute having ariſen between him and one of his companions, the nature of his birth was retorted upon him by his angry antagoniſt in terms of reproach; which ſo irritated the fiery ſpirit of Walter, that he inſtantly killed him; and afraid of abiding the conſequences of the murder, he fled into Scotland. On his arrival in that kingdom, he inſinuated himſelf among the Engliſh, who were in the train of queen Margaret, the ſiſter of Edgar Atheling.[1] He ſoon acquired, by his wiſdom and conduct in this country, the general eſteem; and his abilities unfolding as they were employed in the public ſervice, he was appointed lord ſteward of Scotland, and receiver of the revenues of the realm. From this office, he and his deſcendants have taken the ſurname of Stuart; and from this root have ſprung the royal houſe of that name, and many other branches of illuſtrious families in Scotland.[1]

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[1] Camden's Britannia, p. 585, Gibſon's edit. Speed's Chron. p. 401.

[2] Buchanan Hiſt. Rer. Scot. p. 193. Welſh Chron. p. 98.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 98. Dr. Powel's notes on Giraldus Cambrenſis Itiner. Cambræ, lib. I. cap. II. p. 88.

As Caradoc, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, had been the cauſe of the late invaſion by Harold, he was in hopes of obtaining, on the death of the late prince, the government of South Wales. Inſtead of ſatisfying the ambition of the Welſh chieftain, that nobleman baniſhed him the country; and, either placing no confidence in a man whom he knew to be ſubtile and deceitful; or finding that he could not obtain from him a lordſhip, which he was deſirous of poſſeſſing near Hereford, he cauſed Meredydh, as before related, whom he had found more compliant to his will, to be inveſted with the ſovereignty. On this lordſhip, Harold erected a very ſplendid houſe, at Portaſkewith in Monmouthſhire;[1] and having frequently given an invitation to king Edward, who at that time reſided at Glouceſter, that prince at length paid him a viſit.

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[1] Buchanan, p. 198.

THIS mark of favour excited the envy of Toſti, the eldeſt brother of Harold; which, a little time after, was highly inflamed by a trifling incident. Being at a feaſt with the king, in his court at Windſor, that prince ordered Harold to preſent him with a cup of wine; a preference which had ſuch an effect on the paſſion and the pride of Toſti, that ſetting aſide every ſenſe of fear or decency, he ſeized his brother, and dragged him to the ground by the hair of his head.[2] For this offence he was baniſhed the king's preſence.

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[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 192.

[2] Ibid.

Retiring from the Engliſh court in great fury, he proceeded to Hereford, where Harold was preparing an entertainment for the king; he there murdered all the ſervants belonging to his brother; and cutting off their heads, legs, arms, and other parts of their bodies, he put them into the veſſels of wine, metheglin, ale and beer, which were reſerved for the royal entertainment. He then ſent his ſovereign a contemptuous meſſage, that there was no occaſion to provide any other than freſh proviſions, as he himſelf had taken care to leave a ſufficiency of preſerved and powdered meats.[1] For this ſecond offence he was baniſhed the realm for life.[2]

This ſingular barbarity had not been perpetrated long, when Caradoc the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch came to Portaſkewith, the houſe lately erected by Harold;

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. p. 331. Welſh Chron. p. 104, 105. Simon Dunelme, p. 192. Camden's Brit. p. 597.

[2] Ibid.

and to revenge the diſappointment he had lately received from that nobleman, ſlew the labourers who were there at work, with all his people and ſervants; and then defacing the ſtructure, he carried away the materials, which, at a great expence, had been brought to ornament the building.[1] Whatever illuſtrates the character of man, or diſcriminates nicely the ſpirit of the times, will be intereſting to the reader of ſentiment; though the incidents we have lately recorded, form no leading links, which are eſſential in the chain of our hiſtory.

A. D. 1066. In conſequence of the death of Harold, and of the deciſive battle of Haſtings, William, duke of Normandy, had mounted the Engliſh throne. During the conqueſt of England by that prince, the Welſh remained inactive ſpectators of the ſcene before them; viewing it with the ſame indifference, as if it had been a ſtruggle between two foreign nations. Indeed, it was not likely that they ſhould feel themſelves intereſted in the proſperity of either ſide; knowing whatever was the event, that in their turn, they themſelves might become the victims of the conqueror's fury; and it was certainly right conduct, to ſuffer two people, from whoſe ambition they had every thing to fear, to weaken or to deſtroy each other by mutual hoſtilities. But it is ſtrange, that a brave people like the Welſh, during the favourable moments which this conteſt afforded, did not, by a ſpirited enterprize of ſome effect and importance, wipe away the late national diſhonour; and by wiſe, united, and vigorous meaſures, attempt to recover the independence they had loſt.

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[1] Matth. Weſtm. Welſh Chron. &c.

A. D. 1066. 1ſt of William the Conqueror.

NOTWITHSTANDING the want of ſpirit, or general inattention of the Welſh at this juncture, Bleddyn and Rhiwallon, the kings of North Wales, during the abſence of William in Normandy, joined Edric earl of Mercia, in a deſultory incurſion upon the borders; and laid waſte the country of Hereford as far as Wyebridge.[1]

These princes had ſcarcely returned into their own territories, when Meredydh and Ithel, the ſons of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn, the late king of North Wales, appeared upon the ſtage as competitors for the crown. The young princes, in ſupport of their indubitable rights, raiſed an army, and fought a ſevere battle with the reigning princes, at a place called Mechain in the county of Montgomery. In this action, one of the rival princes on each ſide, Rhiwallon and Ithel, was ſlain; and Meredydh, after ſeeing his army defeated, was forced to fly for ſafety amidſt
A. D 1068. the inmoſt receſſes of the mountains. The openings into theſe mountains being ſtrictly guarded by Bleddyn, rendered his eſcape impoſſible; and the young prince miſerably periſhed by cold and hunger. This victory

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[1] Simon Dunelme, p. 197. Welſh Chron. p. 109.

left Bleddyn ap Cynvyn ſole ſovereign of North Wales and Powys.[1]

Caradoc the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhytherch, not brooking his late diſappointment, raiſed a large body of Normans; and joining them with his own vaſſals out of the diſtrict of Gwent, attacked Meredydh prince of South Wales, on the banks of the Rympyn, a river in that country; whoſe forces being much inferior in point of ſtrength, were eaſily routed, and he himſelf ſlain in the action. Caradoc did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory; as he died ſoon after, and left his ſon Rhytherch to ſucceed to the government of South Wales.[2]

Though no general or concerted meaſures of reſiſtance had taken place againſt the tyranny of William, a few inſurrections aroſe from the diſcontent or patriotiſm of the Engliſh lords. Under cover of celebrating a marriage at Norwich, between the ſiſter of the earl of Hereford, and Ralph earl of Norfolk and Suffolk, many of the nobility in England conſpired againſt William; and in the midſt of their carouſals, entered into a ſolemn engagement to defend their liberties.[1] To theſe nuptials ſeveral of the Welſh chieftains were invited, out of reſpect to the mother of the earl of Norfolk, ſhe being a native of that country; and in hopes, perhaps, of inducing the princes of Wales, by ſuch an act of courteſy, to favour their enterprize.[2] In the morning, when ſober reflection had returned, Waltheof, a Saxon nobleman, and one of the conſpirators, ſtruck with the diſloyalty of the enterprize, or its danger, repaired to the king in Normandy; and informed him of the conſpiracy, with the part he himſelf had acted. That monarch, on receiving this intelligence, came into England; and with his uſual vigour, aſſiſted by the

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 109.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 103.

A. D. 1073. 7th of William the Conqueror.

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[1] Matth. Paris, p. 7. Watts's edition.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 111.

ſpirited meaſures of his miniſters, gave a check to the rebellion before it had matured into ſtrength;[1] and this inſurrection, like all others, when they prove ineffectual, only ſerved to render the conqueror's power more abſolute. Two noblemen, and others of the conſpiracy, died by the hands of the executioner.[2] And many of the Welſh, under the pretext of treaſon, were involved in the ſame fate, though invited to the nuptials merely as ſpectators of the ceremony; ſome of whom were hanged, others had their eyes put out, and the remainder were baniſhed the realm.[3] This ſtroke of *aſſumed* juſtice points out the ſavage and deciſive character of William the Conqueror; and the tame ſubmiſſion of the Welſh, without repriſals or ſhew of reſentment, marks the low ebb of national ſpirit at this diſhonourable period.

[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 105.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 111.

[3] Matth. Paris, p. 7. Stowe's Chron. p. 105.

The ſame fate, which had ended the career of many of the Welſh princes, put a period A. D. 1073. to the days of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, the king of North Wales and Powys. This prince, from motives we are not able to account for, was aſſaſſinated by Rhys, the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn, the youngeſt ſon of Howel Dha; and who was aided, in this cruel tranſaction, by the Welſh chieftains who inhabited the banks of the Towi.* [1]

The inſtitution of a code of laws, and the general eſteem in which Bleddyn ap Cynvyn was held by his ſubjects, for his amiable manners and the mildneſs of his government, might have tranſmitted his name with honour to poſterity, if deep ſuſpicion † had not fixed a ſtain a ſtain upon his memory for the murder of his ſovereign; and if he had not betrayed the liberties of his country, and yielded up its honour, by deigning to receive his crown from the hands of its hereditary enemy, and by conſenting to hold its authority as a tributary[1] of the Engliſh princes.‡

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* *Yſtrad Tywi.* [1] Welſh Annals, p. 111.

† Welſh Chron. p. 102.—That the reader may be enabled to form his own judgment on the juſtice of this ſuſpicion, the author has ſubjoined the very words of the Welſh Chronicle, as tranſlated by Dr. Powel; when ſpeaking of the qualities of Gryffydh, he adds this remarkable paſſage, " and unworthy of that cruel death, that the " ambitious

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"ambitious deſire of rule did provoke his unkind ſubjects, "and unnatural cooſens, to prepare for ſo noble a prince, "and ſo gentle a maſter as he was."—This aſſertion, with the other leading circumſtances in conſequence of the tranſaction, will defend the author, he truſts, from the charge of ſeverity or raſhneſs.

[1] Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 68. Hovedon, p. 446.

‡ Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had by ſeveral women many children, Meredydh, Llywarch, Cadwgan, Madoc, Ririd, and Iorwerth. Welſh Chron. p. 111.

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a ſtain upon his memory for the murder of his ſovereign; and if he had not betrayed the liberties of his country, and yielded up its honour, by deigning to receive his crown from the hands of its hereditary enemy, and by condeſcending to hold its authority as a tributary* of the Engliſh princes.†

“ ambitious deſire of [illegible] and provoke his unkind ſubjects, “ and unnatural conduct, to prepare for [illegible] a prince, “ and ſo gentle a man as he was.”—This obſervation, with the other leading circumſtances in conſequence of the tranſaction, will defend the author, he truſts, from the charge of ſeverity or raſhneſs.

* Hiſtoria Ingulphi, p. 623. Hoveden, p. 446.

† Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had by ſeveral women many children, Meredydh, Llywarch, Cadwgan, Madoc, Ririd, and Iorwerth. Welſh Chron. p. 111.

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK V.

FROM THE DEATH OF BLEDDYN AP CYNVYN TO THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN.

Although the late prince Bleddyn ap Cynvyn had left many children, Trahaearn ap Caradoc, his couſin, by the conſent of the people, was raiſed to the throne of North Wales. A. D. 1073. Beſides being himſelf a chieftain of eminence, he had ſome colourable pretence to that honour; having married Nêſt, the daughter of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn.[1]

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 95, 105.

Amidst other cauſes of evil ariſing to the Welſh from their indiſtinct ideas of government,[1] the little attention which they paid to hereditary ſucceſſion was a ſource of infinite miſery; the jarring claims of various competitors kept their different ſtates in a continual ferment; infuſed a deeper ferocity into the manners of the people, and weakened their power of reſiſting a ſagacious and enterpriſing enemy.

Soon after the acceſſion of Trahaearn, Gryffydh ap Cynan, the ſon of Jago ap Edwal, thought this a favourable opportunity of aſſerting his right to the crown; from which he had been unjuſtly excluded by the late uſurpations. This prince, during the late reigns, had ſought refuge in Ireland, his mother being a native of that country;

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[1] It may be proper here to remark, that though the lineal ſucceſſion was frequently interrupted, yet the Welſh always paid a regard to the ſame blood royal, except in the inſtance of Ædan ap Blegored.

and having procured aid from ſome of the Iriſh princes his kinſmen, he landed a body of troops in Angleſey, and ſoon reduced that iſland to his obedience.[1] Encouraged by his early ſucceſs, and the ſupport of ſome powerful chieftains,[2] Gryffdh paſſed over the ſtraits of the Menai, and encamped his army in Caernarvonſhire; intending by degrees to penetrate farther into the country. Trahaearn, alarmed at this unexpected invaſion, haſtily raiſed what force he was able, and marched to attack his rival upon Bron-yr-Erw, near the caſtle of Harlech in Meirionydh; whom he defeated, and obliged to retire into Angleſey.[3]

Rhys ap Owen, of the royal houſe of South Wales, and Rhytherch the ſon of Caradoc, were at this time the ſovereigns of that principality. The tranquillity of their reign was early diſturbed by an inſurrection raiſed by Gronw and Llewelyn, the ſons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn;[1] to revenge the murder committed on the late prince their grandfather. Though a victory was ſoon after obtained at Camdhwr in Caerdigan, by the two chieftains of Powys, it apparently produced no effect; as Rhys remained the ſole ſovereign of South Wales, on the murder of Rhytherch his colleague. This event was followed by another enterpriſe undertaken by the ſons of Cadwgan; and though theſe princes obtained a ſecond victory at Gwaynyttyd, it does not appear that this ſucceſs produced any thing deciſive A. D. 1074. in their favour; as Rhys continued for ſome time longer to enjoy his government.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 112.

[2] Vita. Griff. fil. Conani, a manuſcript life of that prince, written in the Welſh language, as is ſuppoſed, near the time in which he lived.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 113.

The king of North Wales, having forced Gryffydh ap Cynan to fly into Angleſey; and regarding the diſtracted ſtate of South Wales as favourable to his deſigns of conqueſt, invaded that country. Rhys, ſupported by all the power of his ſubjects, marched to oppoſe the invader. A very fierce action enſued at Pwllgwttic, in which the army of South Wales was defeated; and that prince, to avoid being taken priſoner, was forced to fly from one place to another; until at length, falling into the hands of his enemies, he and his brother Howel, were murdered in revenge of the death of Bleddyn ap Cynyyn.[1] Even in theſe miſerable times, when private reſentment ſuperſeded the ſober deciſion of the laws, the ſword of juſtice, though uſurped, ſeldom ſuffered the guilty to eſcape; as a keen ſenſe of injury, and, what was deemed a ſacred obligation, revenging the wrongs of their anceſtors, were principles eſſential in hereditary feuds, and were deeply engrafted in the manners of the Welſh.

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[1] Strength of the army.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 113.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 113.

IN this ſtate of affairs, Rhys ap Tewdwr,[1] lineally deſcended from Howel Dha, and whoſe family had been long excluded from their rights by the capricious ſucceſſion of A. D. 1077. the times, put in his claim to the crown; and was elected prince of South Wales by the unanimous voice of the people.[2]

GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN, during theſe tranſactions, had received a reinforcement out of Ireland. A ſimilarity of intereſts, having inclined this prince and Rhys ap Tewdwr to form an alliance, they joined their armies; reſolving by every effort in their power to ſupport each other, and to vindicate the rightful ſucceſſion. To oppoſe an union ſo dangerous to his ſafety, Trahaearn ap Caradoc aſſembled his forces, and met the two princes upon the mountain of Carno;[1] where an engagement enſued, diſputed with the valour and obſtinacy natural to rivals who had every thing to hope and to fear. In this action Trahaearn was ſlain, and his army defeated.[2] This victory ſeated Gryffydh ap Cynan, and Rhys ap Tewdwr upon the thrones of their anceſtors.[3] And thus, by a ſudden turn in affairs, meeting, we ſuppoſe, the wiſhes of the people, was the lineal ſucceſſion reſtored; which as long as it continued, was a means of ſoftening the aſperity of the times, and of increaſing the national ſtrength.

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[1] The ſon of Einion ap Owen ap Howel Dha.

[2] According to Vaughan of Hengwrt, the immediate territories of this prince were only the preſent counties of Caerdigan and Caermarthen; as Pembroke, Brecknock, Gwent, or Monmouthſhire, and Glewiſing or Herefordſhire, being governed by their ſeveral Reguli; though, there is no doubt, but all theſe acknowledged the ſovereign authority of South Wales. Britiſh Ant. Revived, p. 7, 8. Welſh Chron. p. 114.

A. D. 1079.

After the late event, the king of North Wales invaded Powys, and laid waſte that territory.[1] This prince's proſperity, however, was very ſoon embittered by a deep reverſe of fortune. A native of Wales, called Meirion Goch, entered into a conſpiracy to betray him into the hands of the Engliſh. Agreeably to the plan which had been previouſly concerted with the earls of Shrewſbury and Cheſter, a ſtrong body of infantry and horſe were ſtationed at Rug in Edeyrnion. The ſnare being laid, Gryffydh ap Cynan was deſired by the treacherous Welſhman, at the inſtance of the two Engliſh lords, to give them the meeting under the colour of a friendly conference. With a ſimplicity, which neither agreed with the character of the times, nor with the dictates of prudence, the Welſh king came to the place appointed, attended only by a few retainers whom he had brought out of Ireland. He had no ſooner made his appearance, than he was ſeiſed, and carried in chains to the caſtle of Cheſter. His attendants were allowed to depart, without receiving any other injury than the loſs of a thumb, which was cut off from the right hand of each. This inſtance of whimſical barbarity might ariſe from the inſtigation of Meirion Goch; who, from the prejudices of his country, would deteſt them as foreigners, and who might alſo reſent the partiality which this prince had always entertained for the Iriſh.

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[1] Called Mynydd Carn, on account of a large Carnedd upon it, covering the remains of a great warrior, who had in ancient times been ſlain and buried there.

[2] Vita fil. Gryff. Conani. Welſh Chron. p. 114. [3] Ibid.

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[1] Brit. Ant. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 16. Vita fil. Griff. Conani.

Gryffydh remained many years in captivity; a confinement, no doubt, that was rendered more bitter, from a ſenſe of his own inability of affording protection to his ſubjects; and of preventing the fatal innovations, which during that period, were taking place in South Wales and in Powys. The earl of Cheſter, having diſarmed ſo formidable an enemy, committed dreadful ravages in North Wales; and in order to preſerve the conqueſts he had made, and render his inroads more ſafe; he erected a fortreſs at

Aberllienawg in Angleſey, one alſo at Caernarvon, another at Bangor, and another in Meirionydh; and all which he furniſhed with ſtrong garriſons.[1]

Resenting, it is probable, the late inroad which the Welſh, in conjunction with Edric earl of Mercia, had made into the marches of England, William the Conqueror invaded their country with a powerful force. The Welſh princes, unable to oppoſe his arms, or awed by the influence of his mighty name, ſubmitted without reſiſtance to pay him homage; and to take the oath of fealty, as due from vaſſals to a ſuperior lord.[2] Theſe hoſtile intentions being ſet aſide by their peaceable demeanour, king William, agree-

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[1] Cambden's Brit. p. 655. Vita Griff. fil. Conani.

[2] Math. Paris, p. 9. Lord Lyttelton ſays, that William, ſatisfied with this mark of vaſſalage, exacted no tribute as from a conquered country; the feudal laws regarding all as ſubjects who were admitted to homage, and of courſe exempting them from ſuch impoſitions.

[3] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 49.

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A. D. 1079. 13th of William the Conqueror.

A. D. 1087.

ably to that ſpirit of piety which in theſe days tinctured the mind of the fierceſt warrior, marched with his army to the city of Saint David, and offered up his devotions at the ſhrine of that Saint.[1] A few years after his expedition into Wales, this great king died in Normandy; and was ſucceeded by William Rufus, his eldeſt ſon. On the death of the Conqueror, the ſpirit and genius of the Welſh nation revived, and with it revived alſo the variety of evils which are incident to inteſtine diviſions.

The three ſons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, deſirous of recovering the ſovereignty which they had loſt by the murder of their father, and by the uſurpation of Trahaearn ap Caradoc, raiſed an inſurrection in South Wales againſt Rhys ap Tewdwr.[2] That prince not being able to oppoſe a force ſuddenly encreaſed by numbers of men bred in the licentiouſneſs of the times, retired into Ireland; and having powerful alliances in that country, he procured a body of troops compoſed of Iriſh and Scots; with which he returned into South Wales, and was joined by many of his own ſubjects. The princes of Powys, ſenſible that diſpatch was the life of ſuch an enterpriſe as theirs, by a rapid movement, attacked Rhys, on the ſudden, at a place called Lhechryd in Radnor; and before his army was ſtrengthened by the reinforcement which was haſtening to join him. In the battle which enſued, fortune decided againſt the inſurgents. Two of the brothers Madoc and Ririd were ſlain; and Cadwgan the other brother, ſaved his life by a precipitate flight. This commotion being fortunately ended, Rhys ap Tewdwr, with rewards expreſſive of his gratitude, diſmiſſed his auxiliaries.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 115. [2] Ibid. p. 117.

The terror which had been impreſſed upon the minds of the Welſh, by the deciſive character of the late Engliſh monarch, and which had unnerved the public arm, ſubſided with the death of that fierce warrior. Early in the reign of his ſon William Rufus an inſurrection broke out upon the borders, excited by the earls of Hereford and Shrewſbury. The Welſh, eager to embrace the first favourable moment for the recovery of their liberties, joined the malecontent lords; and ruſhing with great fury upon the Engliſh marches, like a fire which had been long pent up, they ravaged and laid waſte the country about Worceſter,[1] to the gates of that city.[2] They were however, in the event, repulſed with great ſlaughter, by the valour of the citizens, excited by the ſpirited conduct of Wulſtan their biſhop.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 110.

A. D. 1088.

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[1] Called by the Romans Brangonia, by the Britons Caer-Vrangon, and by the Saxons Worceſtre. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 26.

[2] Annales Waverlenſes, p. 136. Simon Dunelme, p. 214. Math. Paris, p. 12. Welſh Chron. p. 118.

An incident happened at this time, ſpringing from a trivial occurrence, which produced a change in the affairs of South Wales the moſt important and deciſive; and which in ſome meaſure was the cauſe of the final ruin of Cambria. Llewelyn and Einion, chieftains of eminence in South Wales, and the ſons of the lord of Pembroke, roſe in rebellion againſt Rhys ap Tewdwr their ſovereign; and they likewiſe drew into their treaſonable deſigns Gryffydh ap Meredydh, another chieftain of the country. Having joined their forces, they marched to attack prince Rhys, who then reſided at Llandudoch, in the county of Pembroke; where an action enſued, in which the rebels were defeated, and Gryffydh taken priſoner; the two other leaders having ſaved themſelves by flight. The rebel chieftain was inſtantly put to death as a traitor;[1] the firſt inſtance we have ſeen, in theſe miſerable times, of legal juſtice having dared to aſſert her prerogative.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 119.

Einion, deſperate by the late event, and afraid to truſt his ſafety with any of his own kindred, aſſociated with Jeſtyn ap Gwrgaint, lord of Glamorgan;[1] between whom there was a ſimilarity of ſituation and intereſt, he being at that time in arms againſt his ſovereign. To bind themſelves ſtill more cloſely to each other, it was agreed that Einion ſhould marry the daughter of Jeſtyn, on condition that he procured a body of Normans to aſſiſt in their enterpriſe; as that chieftain had ſerved in the Engliſh armies, and had formed an acquaintance with the Norman nobility.[2] Influenced by theſe powerful motives, Einion haſtened into England.

The deſign was agreeable to the enterpriſing ſpirit of the age. The Engliſh princes too, had always employed in their various attempts of ſubjugating Wales, this principle of Machiavelian policy, *Divide et*

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[1] The territory of *Morganwg*, or Morgan.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 119.

Impera.

A. D. 1090. *Impera*. And at this time, the treaſon of two men, coinciding with the views of Rufus, infuſed a fatal poiſon into the boſom of their country.

Robert Fitzhammon, a gentleman of the king's privy chamber and baron of the realm, undertook the adventure. He ſelected for this enterpriſe twelve knights of conſiderable note, who agreed to ſerve under him with a large body of forces.[1] Theſe troops, early in the following year, landed in Glamorgan, and were received with great honour by Jeſtyn the lord of that country; who A. D. 1091. joining his forces with the Normans, laid waſte the territories of Rhys ap Tewdwr. At the time of this invaſion the prince of South Wales was above ninety years old. With a ſpirit and activity uncommon at his age, he marched in perſon againſt the rebels; and meeting them upon the black mountain near Brecknock, after a ſevere and bloody conflict, his army was vanquiſhed, and this ancient and gallant prince was himſelf ſlain in the action.[1] He left two ſons by his wife, the daughter of Rhiwallon ap Cynvyn; Gryffydh, and another ſon, who at his father's death was a priſoner in England.[2] In this manner died Rhys ap Tewdwr; attempting to repel the deepeſt oppreſſion, and fighting for the independency of his country. With this warrior ſunk the glory of the principality of South Wales; after whoſe death, betrayed by the vices of its own princes, and torn in pieces by foreign adventurers, it loſt its ancient importance, and gradually fell into decay.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 119.

The treaſon of the Welſh chieftains having thus attained ſo fortunate an iſſue, Jeſtyn kept all his engagements with the Normans very faithfully; not only diſmiſſing them with the ſtipulated pay, but with preſents ſuitable to the importance of their ſervice. Einion demanded of Jeſtyn his daughter in marriage, agreeably to the promiſe he had made; but proſperity having rendered that chieftain proud and inſolent, he rejected his ſuit, and even imbittered the refuſal by treating him with diſdain. Reſenting a conduct ſo faithleſs and ungrateful, Einion haſtened after the Normans, in hopes of overtaking them before they had failed. On his arrival at the ſea ſhore, he found they were already embarked; and as he might not be heard at ſo great a diſtance, he waved his mantle as a ſignal for them to return. Fitzhammon and his knights immediately put to ſhore, to know the cauſe of ſo extraordinary a procedure. As ſoon as they had landed, Einion laid open his grievances, and likewiſe the facility of ſubduing a territory likely to remain unprotected by the Welſh princes; who muſt have ſeen with an eye of indignation the late conduct of Jeſtyn. Touched in ſome meaſure with the injuries of their friend; but ſtill more, it is probable, with the proſpect of poſſeſſing ſo fertile a country, Fitzhammon and his knights readily engaged in the views of Einion; and contrary to every principle of honour, ſuddenly invaded the territory of Glamorgan. Little expecting ſuch a turn of fortune, Jeſtyn was eaſily diſpoſſeſſed of his territories.[1] They then proceeded to parcel out the domain agreeably to feudal ideas. Fitzhammon, reſerving to himſelf the principal parts, with the ſeigniory of the whole; gave the remainder of that province, to be held as fiefs under himſelf, to the twelve knights[2] who ſhared in the ad-

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 112. Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 80. Polidore Virgil, lib. X. p. 171.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 81. Welſh Chron. p. 120.

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[1] Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 80. Welſh Chron. p. 120. from Ran. Ceſt. lib. VII. cap. VII. Marianus Scotus.

[2] The caſtle and manor of Ogmore, was given to William de Londres; the lordſhip of Neath, to Richard Greenfield; that of Coyty, to Paine Turberville; Llan-Blethyan, to Robert St. Quintine; Talavan, to Richard Siward; the caſtle and manor of Penmare, to Gilbert Humfrevile; the caſtle and manor of Sully, to Reginald Sully; the manor

venture; leaving the rough and barren mountains the property of Einion.[1]

In this manner were the lords of the marches[2] eſtabliſhed in Wales; poſſeſſing in all caſes, except the power of granting pardons for treaſon, *Jura regalia*. In the caſtle of Caerdiff*, the lords of Glamorgan uſually kept their chancery, exchequer, and court; where the twelve knights, by their tenures, were obliged to attend one day in every month, having ſeparate apartments in the caſtle for that purpoſe.[3] Each of the other lordſhips had a diſtinct juriſdiction; enjoying the ſame rights with that of Glamorgan, ex-

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of Eaſt Orchard, to Roger Berkrolles; that of Peterton, to Peter le Soor; that of St. George, to John Fleming; that of Fenvon, to John St. John; and the manor of St. Donats to William le Eſterling. See Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 115.

[1] Camden's Britannia, p. 609. Gibſon's edit. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 80. Welſh Chron. p. 120.

[2] An old Engliſh word ſignifying *boundary*.

* Caerdâf, or city on the river Tâf.

[3] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 115.

cept in caſes of wrong judgment, when an appeal might be made to the ſuperior court. All diſputes in matters of equity ariſing in the ſeveral lordſhips, were determined by the chancellor, in the chancery court of Glamorgan.[1]

The fortunate iſſue of the late adventure raiſed among the Norman nobility an ardent ſpirit of enterprize. The king of England threw powerful incentives in their way; alluring them by motives of intereſt and power, thoſe ſtrong incitements to human conduct. Several barons petitioned the crown for licence to poſſeſs, under homage and fealty, thoſe territories which they might conquer in Wales. This liberty given to the Engliſh lords, of obtaining at their own charge the territories of the Welſh, though ſpringing out of a wiſe policy, was apparently grounded on the abſurd idea of forfeiture; becauſe that people had renounced the allegiance, to which they had ſubmitted through neceſſity, during the operations of Harold, and the deciſive reign of the Norman conqueror.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 122.

The ſituation of South Wales, rendered defenceleſs by the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr, favoured the deſigns of theſe military adventurers. Among the foremoſt of whom was Bernard de Newmarche;[1] who eaſily took poſſeſſion of the province of Brecknock, containing three cantrevs; and to colour his title with ſome degree of popularity, he married Nêſt, a grandaughter of Gryffydh ap Llewelyn.[2] Roger de Montgomery earl of Shrewſbury was the next who did homage to the king for Caerdigan. Arnulph, the younger ſon of that nobleman, obtained likewiſe the great lordſhip of Pembroke.[1] In this eaſy manner, by the deſultory enterprizes of a few Norman lords, was the principality of South Wales ſubdued; the ancient ſeats of the *Dimetæ* and *Silures*; who, ſupported only by native bravery, had given a check to the Roman arms; and whoſe deſcendants had baffled, until this period, the utmoſt efforts of the Saxon and Norman princes.

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[1] Several gentlemen came at this time to Brecknock with Bernard de Newmarche; to whom he gave the following manors, which their heirs enjoy to this time; the manor of Abercynuric and Slowch to the Aubreys; the manor of Llanhamlach and Tal-y-Lhyn to the Walbiefs; the manor of Gilſton to the Gunters; and the manor of Pontwilym to the Havards, &c. See Welſh Chron. p. 150. Camden's Britannia, p. 590. Gibſon's edit.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 148.

The kingdom of North Wales, and the principality of Powys, were not long ſecure from the incroaching ſpirit of the times. The earl of Shrewſbury did homage for all Powys; and brought under his ſubjection ſome diſtricts in that territory; particularly the town and caſtle of Baldwyn.[2] This important fortreſs he fortified more ſtrongly; and called it Montgomery, after the name of his family.[1] The principality of Powys from this period had little concern in the intereſts of Wales. The policy of England ſoon rendered that territory, which had been for ages a barrier of defence, a dangerous neighbour upon the confines; and it became, by the defection of its princes, an inſtrument of miſchief in the hands of the Engliſh againſt the national quiet and ſafety.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 151.

[2] Built by Baldwyn, lieutenant of the Welſh marches, in the reign of William the firſt. See Camden's Brit. p. 650. Gibſon's edit.

Hugh Lupus, earl of Cheſter, likewiſe, did homage for Englefield and Rhyvonioc; with the country extending along the ſea ſhore from Cheſter to the water of Conway. Ralph Mortimer did the ſame for the territory of Elvel; as did Hugh de Lacie for the lands of Euas; and Euſtace Cruer for Mold and Hopedale.[2] Theſe barons endeavoured to ſecure their conqueſts by erecting fortreſſes;[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 152.

[2] Ibid. p. 151.

[3] Vaughan's Britiſh Ant. Reviv. p. 18.

and, as far as they were able, by ſettling in them Engliſh or Norman inhabitants. At this time, Briſtol, Glouceſter, Worceſter, Shrewſbury, and Cheſter, were rebuilt, or fortified; and formed a line of military poſts upon the frontiers.[1] Thus the laſt aſylum of the Britons was inveſted almoſt on every ſide, or broken into by their enemies. The kingdom of North Wales, at this time reduced to the iſland of Angleſey, to the counties of Meirionydh and Caernarvon, and to a part of the preſent counties of Denbigh and Caerdigan, ſtill preſerved the national character and importance. The natives of that country, aided by the virtue of their princes, became more formidable than ever to the Engliſh; and, at times, acquiring union with additional vigour from deſpair; their enemies, inſtead of being able to make new conqueſts, held thoſe which they had already obtained by a precarious tenure.

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[1] Manuſcript relating to the marches of Wales, in the poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq. of Gwernhaeled in Flintſhire.

The late incidents having produced a ſtriking change in the ſituation of Wales, and the lords of the marches having introduced into that country a new ſyſtem of juriſprudence; ſome account of thoſe lords, and of the ſyſtem which they introduced, may be intereſting to the reader. The conqueſt of Wales had been always a leading object in the politics of England; not only from the deſire of more extenſive dominions, but as a means of preventing in future the devaſtation and miſery, which the animoſity of a warlike and an injured people had produced on the Engliſh borders. The utility, likewiſe, of employing in foreign enterprizes a martial nobility, inclined the Norman princes to encourage, by every incitement of advantage and honour, the dangerous deſigns of ſubduing, or of making ſettlements in Wales.

To enable the Engliſh lords to preſerve the obedience of the people they had ſubdued, the kings of England allowed them to aſſume, in their ſeveral territories, an abſolute juriſdiction.[1] But they did not hold this authority under any grant from the crown; it was only for the preſent connived at by the prince; and aroſe, as a wiſe meaſure, out of their particular ſituations. There is not, it is ſaid, any record to be found in the Tower, or in other parts of England, of a grant having been given to any lord of the marches, to poſſeſs the authority annexed to that dignity. The king's writs, iſſuing out of the courts at Weſtminſter, did not extend into any part of Wales; except into Pembroke, accounted at this time a portion of England; neither did the ſheriffs, nor other officers of the king, execute his writs or precepts in any other part of the country.

The high privileges incident to the lords of the marches, could not for many reaſons be held by charter. The kings of England, when they gave to any baron ſuch land as they might conquer from the Welſh, could not fix thoſe immunities on any certain precinct; not knowing which, or whether any would be eventually ſubdued. The lords themſelves were not ſolicitous to procure ſuch immunities; as it frequently happened, that thoſe eſtates of which they had taken poſſeſſion, were afterwards recovered by the Welſh; either by compoſition with the kings of England, or by force of arms. Another cauſe of their not poſſeſſing any charters of prerogative, was; that ſuch privileges, ſo high in their nature, ſo royal and united to the crown, could not by the laws of England be diſunited from the ſame. It was therefore thought a wiſer courſe, to ſuffer them to eſtabliſh, of their own authority, ſuch royal juriſdictions, rather than to hold them under a grant from the ſovereign; which, if at any time called into queſtion, might be adjudged of no force. Thoſe lordſhips, which were conquered at the expence of the Engliſh princes themſelves, were ſubject to a more regular juriſdiction; being governed in general by the laws of England.[1]

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[1] Lord Herbert of Cherbury's Life of Henry VIII.

The lords of the marches, ſelecting the moſt agreeable and fertile parts of their territories, erected caſtles for their own reſidence; and towns for the accommodation of their ſoldiers. It was in this manner, that moſt of the preſent towns and caſtles on the frontier of Wales were built. This appears by the ancient charters given to ſuch towns by thoſe lords who firſt conquered, or founded them, expreſſive of immunities to the burgeſſes, and freemen; few or none of them having purchaſed ſuch liberties from the kings of England till many years after; and when that was done, which was ſeldom the caſe, they were only confirmations of privileges granted them by their ancient lords. Among other towns and caſtles about this time built in Wales, were Pembroke, Tenby, and Haverfordweſt; erected by Strongbo, William de Valence, and the Haſtings. Newport was built by Martin, lord of Cemaes; the town and caſtle of Cydweli by Londres, and afterwards enlarged by the duke of Lancaſter; the towns and caſtles of Swanſey, Oyſtermouth, Loughor, Radnor, Buellt, and Rhaiadr, were erected by the Bruces, the Mortimers, and the Beauchamps; Blaen-llyvni by Herbert; Abergavenny by Dru de Baladon; and in after times, Ruthin by the lords Grey; and Denbigh by Lacie earl of Lincoln. The greateſt part of theſe were ancient towns or caſtles before the Norman conqueſt; which had been either injured or deſtroyed by the devaſtations of war, or in the lapſe of time.

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[1] Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.

The lords of the marches held under the kings of England, by the tenure of ſerving in wars with a certain number of their vaſſals; and of furniſhing their caſtles with ſtrong garriſons, and with all military implements.

The Engliſh laws were for the moſt part adminiſtered in the marches of Wales; their tenures, likewiſe, were principally Engliſh; being tranſmitted by fine, recovery, feoffment, and livery of ſeiſin. Some lords, from motives of prudence, permitted their tenants, who were natives of the country, to enjoy many of their ancient laws; which were not repugnant to thoſe of England, or injurious to their own intereſt. Among other conceſſions in favour of the Welſh, were, the uſage of gavel-kind, and the transfer of lands by ſurrender in court; which gained admiſſion into the juriſdiction of theſe lordſhips under the name of cuſtoms; though anciently they had formed part of the common law of Wales. A ſufficient number of people not being eaſily obtained to colonize the conquered countries, it was an obvious policy in the lords of the marches, to ſooth the aſperity of conqueſt, by allowing the Welſh to enjoy many of their ancient cuſtoms. As the mode of transfer, as well as the principles of ſucceſſion, were different among the two people; two courts were eſtabliſhed in many lordſhips, in which the cuſtom of each nation prevailed. There were, however, a few lordſhips, though entirely held by Engliſh tenures, in which the tenants were permitted the cuſtom of gavelkind, although they tranſmitted their lands by feoffment. Theſe eſtates were ſaid to be held by Engliſh tenure and by Welſh *dole.* In thoſe lordſhips where the land was thus divided, and which was held by knights ſervice, the lord had the wardſhip of all the ſons, as well as daughters; and as this was a point of great advantage, it might induce ſuch lords to encourage in their tenants the cuſtom of dividing their eſtates among their ſons. In many lordſhips the Welſh laws were not in uſe, and Engliſh cuſtoms entirely prevailed. The whole juriſprudence depended entirely on the will of the firſt conquerors.

THE chief qualification of a lord of the marches, was, that he ſhould hold of the king in *capite*. Though conqueſt was the general principle on which his right was founded, in ſome inſtances his dignity proceeded from a different cauſe; as in the caſe of Powys; a great part of which was never gained by conqueſt, but changed into lordſhips marchers by the following means. The princes of Powys, ſeeing the perilous ſituation of their country, and actuated by fear, or intereſted motives, made their ſubmiſſions to Henry the firſt; and agreed to hold under him their ſeveral territories; paying the ſame obedience and duties, which the lords of the marches owed to the crown of England. Thus did ſeveral of the lordſhips in Powys differ from others; in one point, however, they agreed; that they did, and of neceſſity muſt, hold of the king in *capite*. This circumſtance, together with renouncing obedience to the princes of Wales, was all that was at firſt expected by the kings of England from the lords of the marches. The barony of Powys had not any manors which held under it, like other lordſhips which were obtained by conqueſt; and for the ſame reaſon there were neither knights fees, nor plow, nor ox lands in thoſe lordſhips; theſe diviſions being introduced into Wales by the Engliſh and Norman lords; and were entirely unknown to the Welſh and to the ancient Britons.

Having thus given a ſhort account of the introduction, and the nature of the lords marchers in Wales,[1] eſtabliſhed in the country at different periods, we ſhall reaſſume the ſubject of the hiſtory.

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[1] This account of the lords marchers is taken from a manuſcript in the poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq. of Gwernhaeled, in Flintſhire.

North Wales had been left many years without a ſovereign, in the power of the earl of Cheſter, and expoſed to his mercileſs ravages. Since the death of Rhys ap Tewdwr no chieftain had ariſen in South Wales to rekindle the ſpirit of patriotiſm; and that country, wreſted, in a great meaſure, from the hands of its native princes, had been parcelled out among Norman adventurers.[1] In this ſtate of things, when the proſperity of Wales appeared irretrievably loſt, her fortunes were changed on a ſudden, by the enterpriſing ſpirit of a few individuals, poſſeſſed of neither power nor conſequence.

Gryffydh ap Cynan had languiſhed twelve years in captivity,[2] neglected by his ſubjects, or what is more probable, without their having had the ability to procure his releaſe. The ſituation of this prince excited the compaſſion of a young man, named *Kynwric Hir*, a native of Edeyrnion; who determined, if poſſible, to effect his eſcape out of priſon, though at every hazard to himſelf. The enterpriſe was bold, generous, and full of danger. Attended by a few followers he repaired to Cheſter, under pretence of purchaſing neceſſaries; and having, early in the evening, gained admittance into the caſtle, while the keepers were deeply engaged in feaſting, he carried on his back the captive prince, loaded with chains, and conveyed him with ſafety into his own dominions. It is with pleaſure we contemplate an action, like this, heroic in itſelf, and directed by a principle of maſculine virtue.

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[1] Brady relates out of Domeſday, that William the Conqueror granted to Hugh Lupus, earl of Cheſter, North Wales in farm at the rent of £40 per annum; beſides Rhôs and Rhyvonioc. Page 201.

[2] Camden's Brit. Gibſon's edit. p. 656.

Though Gryffydh ap Cynan had thus fortunately eſcaped out of the hands of his enemies, he had many difficulties ſtill to encounter; as his own ſubjects were either diſpirited, or alienated from him; and the Engliſh were maſters of the country. His danger was ſometimes ſo great, that he was obliged to lie concealed in woods and in other places of ſecurity; but after he had endured a variety of evils, and taken thoſe caſtles which the Normans had erected during his captivity, he recovered the entire poſſeſſion of his kingdom.[1]

It was not likely that the impatient ſpirit of the Welſh, their ſovereign having obtained his liberty, would remain quiet under the late uſurpations. Gryffydh ap Cynan, fired with reſentment for the miſeries which he himſelf and his country had endured, with Cadwgan the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, invaded the territory of Caerdigan; and ſlew great numbers of the Engliſh, who had lately ſettled in that country.[2] After this enterpriſe the two princes returned into their own territories.

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[1] Vita Griffith. fil. Conani.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 152. Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

The Normans having procured a reinforcement out of England, propoſed, by a ſudden inroad into North Wales, to revenge the injuries they had lately ſuſtained. This deſign was diſcovered by Cadwgan; and that prince, ſuddenly intercepting them as they marched through the foreſt of *Yſpys*, defeated their forces, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, and obliged them to retreat with conſiderable loſs. The rapid movements of the Welſh prince did not allow his enemies leiſure to breathe. Purſuing them cloſely in their flight, and aſſiſted by the general conſternation, he laid waſte the country of Caerdigan and Pembroke; demoliſhed every fortreſs lately erected, except the caſtles of Pembroke and Rydcors; which by their ſtrength, or A. D. 1092. the bravery of the garriſons, baffled his power. Having thus recovered, by ſo fortunate an enterpriſe, a great part of South Wales, Cadwgan returned into Powys.[1]

Elated with ſuch unuſual proſperity, and animated by a ſpirit of patriotiſm, the king of North Wales, and the ſons of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, again united their forces. Not content with expelling the enemies of their country, they carried their arms into the marches of England; a ſpirit of ferocity directing their operations. The Welſh princes divided their forces into different parties; one of which was defeated by the earl of Shrewſbury.[2] The other bodies, not meeting with any reſiſtance, with the force and impetuoſity of mighty torrents, ſpread along the Engliſh borders devaſtation and ruin. The counties of Cheſter, Hereford, Worceſter, and Salop, were laid waſte. The cities, the towns, and many villages were plundered, or ſet on fire, or levelled with the ground; and, with a cruelty that diſhonoured the juſtice of their cauſe, the inhabitants, without any diſtinction of age or of ſex, were carried away priſoners, or periſhed by the ſword.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 152.

[2] Annales Waverleienſes, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Hiſtoriæ.

A. D. 1094. 7th of William Rufus.

William Rufus, inflamed with reſentment, that a people, who had yielded a tame ſubmiſſion to his father, ſhould dare to contemn his authority, and attack him in his own dominions, raiſed a great army, and marched in perſon into the confines of Wales. The Welſh with great ſpirit repulſed his attacks; and after loſing great numbers of horſes and men, he was forced to return with diſhonour into England to reinforce his army. Fluſhed with their ſucceſs, the Welſh princes, on the retreat of the Engliſh, ventured to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Montgomery; reputed the ſtrongeſt and the beſt fortified of any in Wales. The Normans gallantly defended the place for many days; but the Welſh, having found means to undermine the walls, took it by ſtorm; and after putting the garriſon to the ſword, levelled that fortreſs with the ground.[1]

One common ſpirit of aſſerting their freedom animated the Welſh at this fortunate moment. The Engliſh, who inhabited South Wales, were attacked in their different ſettlements; and after ſome deſultory reſiſtance, were obliged to evacuate the country. In the courſe of theſe hoſtilities, Roger Montgomery earl of Salop, William Fitzeuſtace earl of Glouceſter, and other Engliſh noblemen were ſlain.[2] Thus at length did this gallant people, whoſe ſpirit had long been depreſſed by the hand of power, recover, with ſomewhat like elaſtic force, the importance of their ancient character.

A. D. 1094.

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[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 991. Simon Dunelme, p. 220. Polydore Virgil, p. 273. Walter Hemingford Canon of Giſlebourne, p. 465. Annales Waverleienſes, p. 139. from Ang. Script. Hiſtoriæ.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 154.

Though the Normans had been driven out of South Wales, they were in no meaſure reconciled to the loſs of their fertile poſſeſſions. They provided freſh ſoldiers to garriſon the different caſtles which they had erected in the country; beſides furniſhing each of them with a proper ſtock of proviſions. Returning into South Wales, once more to contend for the prize with the native inhabitants, they were aſſaulted by the ſons of Ednerth ap Cadwgan, and driven back into England with great ſlaughter. Their ſeveral fortreſſes, after a ſpirited defence made by the garriſons, were yielded up to the Welſh; who for ſome time were left in quiet poſſeſſion of a great part of the country. At the ſame time, two chieftains of North Wales, joining their forces with thoſe of the ſons of Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, one of the princes of Powys, made an inroad into Pembroke, then in the poſſeſſion of Arnulph the ſon of Roger Montgomery; and after having laid waſte the whole country, they returned into their reſpective territories enriched with plunder. The caſtle of Pembroke, lately erected by the above-mentioned lord, had baffled all the attempts of the Welſh; that fortreſs having been gallantly defended by Gerald de Windſor, the governor.[1]

A. D. 1096. 9th of William Rufus.

The late diſaſters, and the diſgrace which he in perſon had received, excited in the fierce mind of Rufus the keeneſt indignation. He entered Wales, a ſecond time, at the head of a royal army. During his march, the activity of the Welſh cut off his proviſions, harraſſed his troops, and conſiderably diminiſhed his numbers both in men and horſes; for keeping aloof in the woods and marſhes, or on the tops of the mountains, they ſuddenly attacked the Engliſh, with great advantage, in the defiles of the country, and in the paſſages of rivers.[2] And ſuch was the valour of the Welſh, and ſuch the conduct of their leaders; ſo great were the difficulties likewiſe which Rufus found in attempting to penetrate through the country, or in drawing the enemy to a battle, that in deſpair he gave up the enterpriſe; and after refortifying ſome caſtles upon the borders, returned with additional diſgrace into England.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 154.

[2] Brompton's Chron. p. 992. Matth. Weſtm. lib. II. fol. 12. Polydore Virgil, p. 174.

The late exertions of the Welſh, and the proſperous turn in their affairs, muſt ſurely give pleaſure to every reader of ſentiment, who feels a tender concern for the intereſts of humanity; and who has ſeen a ſpirit of private rapacity, directed by the policy of England, and acting in concert with its power, entrenching on the natural rights of a people, inferior in every means of reſource, and whoſe only ſupport was the juſtice of their cauſe, and an ardent valour inſpired by freedom.

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[1] Brompton's Chron. Matt. Weſt. Polydore Virgil.

Discomfiture and diſgrace having of late attended on the arms of England, a different mode of conducting the war was adopted. Many of the Norman nobility were encouraged to undertake, at their own charge, the conqueſt of the Welſh; and about this time, or before, many barons had acquired conſiderable ſettlements, in thoſe parts of Wales which had been lately ſubdued, or along the frontiers of the country. Among others, Peter Corbet ſettled on the lordſhip of Caurs, Mortimer on Wigmore, Fitz Alen on Clun and Oſweſtry, Monthault on Hawarden, Fitzwarren on Whittington, Roger le Strange on Eleſmere, Drude Baladon on Abergavenny, and Gilbert on Monmouth.[1]

At the ſecret inſtigation of Owen ap Edwyn, lord of Englefield, and of other chieftains in North Wales, a very formidable army invaded that country, under the com- A. D. 1096.

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[1] Manuſcript treatiſe on the marches, in poſſeſſion of Philip Lloyd Fletcher, Eſq.

mand of the earls of Cheſter[1] and Shrewſbury.[2] Gryffydh, the king of North Wales, and Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, not being able on a ſudden to collect a force ſufficient to oppoſe them, and not having the neceſſary confidence in their troops, gave way for a time, and retired to the mountains for ſecurity. The two earls, meeting with no reſiſtance, continued their march into that part of Caernarvonſhire which lies oppoſite to Angleſey. Gryffydh ap Cynan, ſeeing the danger which threatened the ſeat of his government, paſſed over the water of Menai, attended by his aſſociate Cadwgan; and having received a ſlight reinforcement out of Ireland, he ſeemed determined to defend the iſland.[3] At this critical moment, Owen ap Edwyn, whoſe daughter had married the Welſh king, and who was likewiſe his principal miniſter, openly avowed his treaſon, and joined the Engliſh army with his forces. The Welſh princes, alarmed at the perfidy and revolt of ſo powerful a chieftain, and unable to oppoſe the united force of the enemy, withdrew into Ireland.[1] No longer protected, the iſland of Angleſey fell an eaſy prey to the Engliſh; who poured upon the inhabitants the full meaſure of retaliation for the cruelties which had been lately committed in the borders of England. It is painful to relate the ſingular and ſavage barbarities exerciſed on this occaſion; reſembling more the deliberate malice of ruffians, than the impetuoſity of ſoldiers. Some of theſe people had their hands cut off, others their feet; ſome had their eyes pulled out, others were caſtrated, and great numbers were maſſacred. A prieſt of the name of Kenred, venerable for his years and his wiſdom, having taken ſanctuary in a church, the earl of Shrewſbury commanded him to be taken from thence; ordered one of his eyes to be pulled out, his tongue to be cut, and cauſed him likewiſe to be deprived of his manhood.[1] We ſhould have drawn a veil over ſuch a ſcene of barbarity, if the deſign of hiſtory had been only to adorn a ſtory; and not to point the inſtructive moral, or to delineate, with a faithful pencil, the portraiture of men and manners.

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[1] Hugh *Vras*, or the fat earl of Cheſter.

[2] Called by the Welſh Hugh *Goch*, or Hugh with the red head.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 155.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 155.

The ſafety of North Wales, at this perilous criſis, depended upon a train of fortuitous circumſtances. Magnus the ſon of Harold king of Norway, having taken poſſeſſion of the Orkneys and of the Iſle of Man, arrived accidentally upon the coaſt of Angleſey. Hearing of the cruelties committed by the Engliſh, and touched with a ſenſe of generous pity, he determined to land his forces, and to preſerve the miſerable inhabitants from deſtruction.[2] The Engliſh endeavoured to oppoſe the Norwegians. In the attempt, the earl of Shrewſbury was ſlain. The prince of Norway, obſerving that nobleman reſolute in oppoſing his landing, and whoſe impetuous valour had carried him into the ſea, levelled an arrow; which through the opening of his armour pierced his right eye, and reaching his brain, he fell down convulſed into the water. The Norwegian prince, on ſeeing him fall, exultingly cried, "Let him dance."[1] This accidental ſtroke of juſtice, ſeen by the eye of ſuperſtition, made the Welſh to conclude, that the arrow had been directed by the immediate hand of the Almighty.

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[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 994. Fabian, p. 315.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 156. Vit. Griffithi. fil. Conan.

The death of the earl of Shrewſbury produced ſome diſorder among the Engliſh, and obliged them to abandon the ſhore. The earl of Cheſter, on this diſaſter, ſuddenly retreated into England; leaving Owen ap Edwyn to enjoy for a time the fruits of his treaſon. The Norwegians finding that the Engliſh had not left any thing to plunder, immediately re-embarked.[1] This attempt was the laſt enterpriſe of any of the northern nations, to plunder or to ſubdue this country.[2]

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. cap. VII. Simon Dunelme, p. 223.

After an abſence of two years in Ireland, Gryffydh ap Cynan, attended by Cadwgan, returned into Wales; and concluded a peace with the Engliſh, upon terms of great diſ-
A. D. 1098. advantage. The dominions of Gryffydh, by this treaty, were reduced to the iſland of Angleſey; and Cadwgan retained only the territory of Caerdigan, and a ſmall part of Powys.[3] Unacquainted as we are with the ſprings of action, it is not eaſy to account for the long abſence of Gryffydh; or to trace in his preſent conduct any marks of that vigour, and deciſion of character, which diſtinguiſhed the early operations of his reign.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 156. Hume's Hiſt. Eng.

[2] In the courſe of this expedition, the earl of Cheſter rebuilt the caſtle of Diganwy, the ſeat of the ancient princes of Wales. King's Vale Royal of Cheſhire, p. 48.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 156.

It might ſeem, as if ſome degree of retaliative juſtice, diſtinguiſhed the death of William Rufus king of England; who was ſlain by accident, as he was hunting in the New Foreſt in Hampſhire. His younger brother, Henry the firſt, ſucceeded to the Engliſh crown. A. D. 1100.

Robert Belesmo, the ſon of Roger Montgomery earl of Shrewſbury, and Arnulph his brother earl of Pembroke, having engaged in rebellion againſt Henry, drew into their treaſonable deſigns Meredydh, Cadwgan, and Jorwerth; the three princes of Powys, and ſons to the late king Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. The Engliſh king marched in perſon with a large army againſt them; and repairing to the marches of Wales, laid ſiege to the caſtle of Bridgenorth. Finding this fortreſs too ſtrong, on account of its ſituation and warlike appointments, to afford him the proſpect of reducing it eaſily, he ſent privately to Jorwerth, one of the Welſh princes; in hopes, A. D. 1101.

by ſuch motives as were likely to touch his reſentment, or his intereſt, to detach him from the rebels, and incline him to engage in his ſervice. He offered him the territories which the two earls poſſeſſed in Wales, without paying tribute, or taking any oath of allegiance; and at the ſame time, he recalled to his memory the many and deep injuries which his country had received from the families of thoſe lords. Theſe offers, artfully directed to the feelings of the Welſh prince, were gladly accepted. Jorwerth immediately joined the king; and with the uſual animoſity of a deſerter, detached his troops to ravage the eſtates of the two Engliſh earls. The perfidy of his conduct threw his brothers and the rebel lords into the utmoſt diſmay; they deſpaired of being able to make head againſt the king, and, within a little time after, the confederacy was diſſolved.[1]

As ſoon as king Henry had returned into England, Jorwerth arreſted his brother Meredydh, and confined him in priſon; his other brother Cadwgan he took into favour, and gave him the territory of Caerdiff, and a part of Powys. He then repaired to the Engliſh court, in full confidence of receiving from Henry a ſuitable recompence for the ſervices he had lately performed. The king, however, wanting no longer his aſſiſtance, not only received him with great coldneſs, but deprived him alſo of thoſe territories which he had received as the reward of his treachery; and he was diſmiſſed from the court covered with ſhame and diſappointment.[1] Richard de Belmarſh the biſhop of London, was, at this time, appointed *Warden* of the marches. This prelate ſummoned Jorwerth to attend him at Shrewſbury, under pretence of conſulting about public affairs; but as ſoon as the Welſh prince made A. D. 1102. his appearance, he was arreſted for treaſon, found guilty of the real or alledged charge, and committed to priſon.[2] The diſtruſt of a traitor, and the dread of the effects ariſing from diſappointed ambition, were no doubt the real motives which produced his diſgrace.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 158.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 159.
[2] Ibid. p. 160.

A SERIES of feuds and hoſtilities, unpleaſing in the recital, ariſe, at this period, in the hiſtory of Wales. Theſe inteſtine diviſions, too deſcriptive of the manners of the Welſh, were the means of accelerating the ruin of their ſtates; deſtroying by degrees their union and their ſtrength, and affording opportunities to the Engliſh kings of detaching the Welſh chieftains from the intereſts of their country.

A. D. 1108. CADWGAN AP BLEDDYN, in the Chriſtmas holidays, invited the chieftains who reſided in the country adjacent, to a feaſt at his caſtle in ſome part of Pembroke. In the courſe of their feſtivity, *mead*, the wine of this country, having raiſed their ſpirits, Neſt[1] the wife of Gerald, the governor of

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[1] Camden's Brit. p. 630. Gibſon's edit.

Pembroke caſtle, was ſpoken of in terms of admiration; the beauty and elegance of whoſe perſon, it was ſaid, exceeded thoſe of any lady in Wales. The curioſity of Owen the ſon of Cadwgan was ſtrongly excited to ſee her; and he had little doubt of obtaining admittance, as there was a degree of relationſhip ſubſiſting between them. Under colour of a friendly viſit, the young chieftain, with a few of his attendants, was introduced into the caſtle. Finding that Fame had been cold in her praiſe, he returned home deeply enamoured of her beauty, and fired with an eager deſire of enjoying her. The ſame night, returning with a party of his retainers, as daring and diſſolute as himſelf, he ſecretly entered the caſtle; and in the confuſion produced by ſetting it on fire, ſurrounded the chamber in which Gerald and his wife ſlept. Awaked by the noiſe, Gerald ruſhed out of bed to inquire into the cauſe of the diſturbance. His wife, alarmed at the danger which threatened her huſband, prevented his opening the door; and adviſing him to retire to the Privy, ſhe aſſiſted him in pulling up the board; by which means, and her farther aſſiſtance, he let himſelf down, and made his eſcape. The ruffian and his followers then broke open the chamber door; and after a diligent ſearch, not finding Gerald, they ſeiſed his wife and two of his ſons, beſides a ſon and a daughter which he had by a concubine; then leaving the caſtle in flames, and ravaging the country, he carried off Neſt and the children into Powys. This adventure gave Cadwgan the greateſt uneaſineſs. Afraid leſt Henry might revenge on his head the atrocious action of his ſon, he came into Powys; and requeſted Owen that he would ſend back to Gerald his wife and children, as well as the plunder which he had taken. The young chieftain, whoſe love was heightened by the poſſeſſion of his miſtreſs, refuſed to reſtore her. Whether ſhe yielded to the violence of her lover from choice or from neceſſity, is uncertain; but he ſoon after ſent

A. D. 1108.

back to Gerald all his children, at her particular requeſt.[1]

Owen being afraid of receiving from the warden of the marches the puniſhment due to ſuch an outrage, eſcaped with all his aſſociates into Ireland. His father Cadwgan ſecreted himſelf for a time in Powys; but having ſatisfied king Henry of his innocence concerning the late affair, he was permitted to remain in his own country, and to enjoy the town and eſtates which he held in right of his wife;[2] he was ſome time after reinſtated in the poſſeſſions which had belonged to him in Caerdigan, on paying to the king a fine of one hundred pounds.[3]

After many years confinement, Jorwerth ap Bleddyn was releaſed out of priſon, and reſtored to his territory; on his paying a fine of three hundred pounds in money, or of that value in cattle or horſes.[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 164. and Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 129.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 165. [3] Ibid. p. 166, 167, 168.

Soon after his releaſe, this prince and his
brother Cadwgan repaired to England, to
tranſact with Henry ſome affairs of their
own.[1] During their abſence, Owen the ſon
A. D. 1109. of Cadwgan, who was juſt arrived out of
Ireland, and whoſe turbulent ſpirit was al-
ways in motion, murdered a biſhop, with all
his attendants, on his journey to the Engliſh
court;[2] and then retired for ſecurity into his
father's territories. This outrage being re-
ported to Henry, Cadwgan was called to
anſwer for the conduct of his ſon; but the
excuſes he made not having ſatisfied the king,
his eſtates were taken from him; that prince
telling him, at the ſame time, that his territo-
ries ſhould be given to one, who with a firmer
hand, would be able to reſtrain ſuch diſ-
orders. He ſettled on him a penſion for life;
and charged him on his allegiance, not to
enter into any part of Wales until licence
ſhould be given.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 166, 167, 168.

[2] Ibid.

The territory of the Welſh prince was given to Strongbow earl of Strigill, on the uſual condition of obtaining poſſeſſion by the ſword. This baron ſoon after landing in Caerdigan, eaſily accompliſhed his views of conqueſt; and to render his poſſeſſions more ſecure, he erected two fortreſſes; one of which he built on the ſea ſhore, about a mile from Llanbadarn, and the other at a place called Dingeraint, on the river Teivi.[1] A. D. 1109.

Madoc ap Ririd,* a couſin, and a wild aſſociate of Owen, the ſavage chieftain of Powys, returned out of Ireland. Having ſecreted himſelf in the territory of his uncle Jorwerth, that prince, dreading the recent fate of his brother Cadwgan, gave orders to his vaſſals that they ſhould treat his nephew as an enemy. Madoc, upon this, collected a body of outlaws; with whom he lay concealed amidſt the rocks and receſſes of the woods, waiting for an opportunity of revenging the affront. He likewiſe entered into a friendſhip with Llywarch ap Trahaearn, between whom and the family of his uncle, ſubſiſted a deadly feud. Having intelligence that Jorwerth intended, on a certain night, to ſleep at Caereinion in the county of Montgomery, the two chieftains with their followers ſurrounded the place at midnight. The Welſh prince and his attendants, ſtarting from their ſleep, defended the houſe with much ſpirit a conſiderable time. The aſſailants, unable to make any impreſſion, ſet it on fire. In this extremity, the people within endeavoured to make their eſcape; in doing which, ſome of them had the good fortune to puſh through the enemy, others were ſlain in the attempt, and the remainder were burned in the houſe. Jorwerth himſelf, attempting to force his way, ruſhed on the ſpears of the aſſailants; but being overpowered, he was driven back, and periſhed in the flames.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 169.

* Ap Bleddyn ap Cynvyn.

As ſoon as Henry heard of this ferocious tranſaction, calling Cadwgan into his preſence, he received that prince into favour; and gave him the territory which his late brother had poſſeſſed in Powys; and, from motives which do not appear, he even extended his grace unto Owen, deſiring his father to ſend for him out of Ireland; whither he had fled on account of the late murder of the biſhop.[1]

Madoc, finding his uncle Cadwgan in poſſeſſion of his late brother's territories, though his hands had been already ſtained with the blood of one kinſman, determined the firſt opportunity to imbrue them ſtill deeper, by the murder of his other uncle Cadwgan. This prince, having reduced his territories, in ſome degree, to a ſtate of tranquility, by a ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice, repaired to Pool * in Montgomeryſhire, attended by the elders of the country; where he began to erect the caſtle of Powys, in which he intended to reſide. During his reſidence at Pool, he was on a ſudden aſſaulted by his nephew Madoc, and baſely murdered before he had time to fly, or even to prepare for his defence. Thus died, after a variety of fortunes, Cadwgan the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn; dignified by Camden with the title of the renowned Briton; a prince, whoſe valour, ſenſe of juſtice, and other milder virtues, might, in any age but this, have exempted him from a death ſo cruel, and ſo unworthy of his character.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 170, 171.

* Trallwng.

On the murder of his uncle, Madoc applied to the warden of the marches for land which had been formerly promiſed him; and that officer, influenced by the reſentment he had borne to Cadwgan and his family, granted his requeſt; and what is ſtill more ſingular, king Henry received the ruffian into favour, upon his paying a fine.[1]

A SERIES of retaliated injuries ariſe in regular ſucceſſion; evils naturally ſpringing from the paſſions when they uſurp the ſword of juſtice. Meredydh, the only ſurviving ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, cauſed an inroad to be made in the territory belonging to Llywarch ap Trahaearn, who had been acceſſary to the murders lately committed on his brothers. Paſſing in the night through the land of Madoc ap Ririd, the retainers of Meredydh meeting a vaſſal in the ſervice of that chieftain, inquired for his maſter; the man at firſt affecting ignorance, was threatened with inſtant death; he then gave them intelligence that his chief was in a place at no great diſtance. Early in the morning, the party ſurrounded Madoc, ſlew many of his followers, and brought him priſoner to Me-

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 170, 171.

redydh; who ſent to his nephew Owen to
decide his fate. That chieftain, reflecting
that he himſelf had been, in various adven-
tures, an aſſociate of Madoc, and that they
were united by oath in the bonds of friend-
A. D. 1112. ſhip, determined not to put him to death;
though with a whimſical refinement in mercy,
he ſatisfied his revenge by putting out his
eyes.[1] Incidents like theſe, ariſing from the
colliſſion of contending parties, preſent, in
ſanguinary tints, a lively picture of bar-
bariſm.

A. D. 1112. 12th of Henry I. In the courſe of theſe events, Henry the
king of England had an opportunity of
giving to his territories in South Wales, an
increaſe of ſecurity and ſtrength, of the moſt
beneficial and ſtable nature. In the reign of
his father a great number of Flemings, hav-
ing been driven out of their habitations by a
very uncommon inundation, had come over

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 172.

into England. That king had entertained them with much cordiality, from juſt notions of policy; to increaſe, by ſuch a number of uſeful inhabitants, the riches and ſtrength of his kingdom. Many of theſe people, having been diſperſed in different parts of his dominions, began by their numbers to create ſome uneaſineſs; which Henry removed by ſettling them as a colony in South Wales; where he gave them the country adjoining to Tenby and Haverfordweſt, in which their poſterity remain to this day.[1]

The king of North Wales, for ſome time paſt, had never done homage, nor had paid tribute to the crown of England. Having lately overcome his foreign enemies, Henry, received complaints from the earl of Cheſter, that frequent devaſtations had been committed on his territories by Gryffydh ap Cynan, and by Gronw the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn the lord of Engleſield. Similar complaints had been likewiſe made by the earl of Strigill, to whom Henry had lately given Caerdigan; that Owen the ſon of Cadwgan kept a number of retainers, who frequently plundered and infeſted his country.[1] On theſe complaints, Henry ſwore in his anger, that he would not leave a Welſhman alive in North Wales, or in Powys; that he would exterminate the nation; and would ſettle in each country new inhabitants out of his own dominions. To execute this threat, he drew together, from different parts of his kingdom, a very conſiderable force; and Alexander the Fierce, who then reigned in Scotland, ſerved under him in perſon.

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[1] Wm. Malmſbury, p. 158. Girald. Camb. Itin. lib. I. cap. XI. Verſtegan, chap. IV. p. 100. Humfrey Lhuyd's Breviary, p. 58.

Three armies were formed; one of which, compoſed of a large body of Scots, and the power of the north, under the conduct of the Scottiſh king, and the earl of Cheſter, was deſigned for the conqueſt of North Wales; another, conſiſting of the ſtrength of Cornwall, and a fourth part of England, led by the earl of Strigyl, was ordered to invade thoſe parts of South Wales which were ſtill poſſeſſed by the natives; and a third, taking in the flower of his military vaſſals in the middle part of his dominions, was commanded by the king of England himſelf, with which he propoſed to ſubdue all Powys. Never was the Welſh nation, to all appearance, in ſuch danger as at this period; the ſtorm gathering from different quarters, ſeemed ready to burſt, and to overwhelm it in ruin.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 173.

A. D.
1114.
14th of
Henry I.

Intimidated at the proſpect, Meredydh the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, delivered himſelf up to the mercy of Henry; and his nephew Owen the ſon of Cadwgan fled to Gryffydh ap Cynan. The king, on this turn in affairs, changing his firſt deſign, and directing all his force againſt North Wales, advanced himſelf to Murcaſtell; and the king of Scots, in concert with him, penetrated as far as Pennant Bachwy. The inhabitants, as uſual, retired to the mountains; and by the prudent orders of their king, having carried away their cattle and proviſions, ſuch a large army could not purſue them for want of ſubſiſtence, as well as from the natural difficulties of the country: and the Engliſh parties who attempted to do it, were attacked by the Welſh in the defiles of the mountains, and were either cut to pieces, or repulſed with great loſs.[1]

Unable to penetrate the country, with ſafety to his troops, or with credit to his arms, Henry had recourſe to the arts of negotiation. The king of Scotland was made the firſt inſtrument in carrying on the deſign. He propoſed to Gryffydh ap Cynan, that if he would appear and yield himſelf up, he ſhould be taken into Henry's favour. But the Welſh king, aware of the deluſive nature of ſuch a promiſe, refuſed to lay down his arms. On the failure of this negotiation, the earl of Cheſter was then ſent to Gryffydh ap Cynan, to procure, if poſſible, his ſubmiſſion to king Henry; and in order more effectually to promote the deſign, he inſinuated that Owen ap Cadwgan had already made his peace with the Engliſh monarch. Incenſed at the ſuppoſed perfidy of his confederate, the king of North Wales agreed to lay down his arms; for they had taken an oath, that neither party ſhould conclude a peace, or make ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh prince, without the conſent of the other. He alſo agreed to pay a large ſum of money to king Henry, as a compenſation, perhaps, for the ravages which had been lately committed in Cheſhire. At the ſame time, Meredydh, under the pretence of treachery in the king of North Wales, brought over Owen his nephew. The means of intercourſe having been prevented by Meredydh, the two Welſh princes became the dupes of this artifice; and each of them made a ſeparate peace with the king of England.[1] It gives us a ſtriking idea of the valour of the Welſh, and of the exceeding difficulty of ſubduing their country by force, to ſee a prince, ſo potent as Henry the firſt, gloſſing over by a diſhonourable ſubterfuge, real diſgrace and diſappointment. For where was the advantage reſulting from the war? No homage or tribute appears to have been acknowledged or paid, nor any new territory obtained; no extermination of the inhabitants, as he proudly menaced; no new colonies eſtabliſhed in North Wales, or in Powys.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 173.

The buſy theatre of South Wales preſents, at this period, a new and an intereſting character. Gryffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr, who, on the death of his father, had been conveyed for ſafety into Ireland, remained in that country until he was twenty-five years of age. Deſirous, then, of recovering the dignity which his anceſtors had poſſeſſed, he came privately into South Wales, under the pretence of viſiting Nêſt his ſiſter; who ſome time before had been concubine to king Henry, and had borne two ſons to that monarch.[1] After her connection with Henry had ceaſed, Gerald de Windſor, a gentleman of much eſtimation for his valour and conduct, then governor of Pembroke caſtle, obtained her in marriage; and, on that account, was appointed lieutenant over a part of that province. This lady was the ſame perſon, whoſe beauty had ſo lately excited Owen the ſon of Cadwgan to the act of violence already mentioned. With his ſiſter, and his other kinſmen, Gryffydh remained two years. But Henry's jealouſy did not allow this prince to continue long unmoleſted. For ſuſpicions ariſing that he began to carry on intrigues with the Welſh, who regarded him as the reſtorer of their ancient freedom, and that his ſecret deſign was to recover his kingdom, orders were ſent to have him arreſted. When Gryffydh ap Rhys had intelligence of this deſign, he implored the protection of the king of North Wales; who aſſured him, that for the friendſhip he had borne to his father, he ſhould be cordially received, and ſhould remain in perfect ſecurity within his dominions.[1] At the ſame time, Howel, the brother of the young prince, having been long a priſoner, made his eſcape out of the caſtle of Montgomery; and though ſorely maimed, fled, as to a friendly aſylum, to the court of Gryffydh ap Cynan.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 174.

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[1] Girald. Cambr. Itin. cap. XII. ſays one ſon. Brady's Hiſt. Eng. reign of Henry I. p. 171, ſays two ſons.

A. D. 1115. Henry, having heard of theſe events, and dreading the effects if drawn into precedent, of the protection which had been yielded to Gryffydh ap Rhys[3] in North Wales, ſent a letter to Gryffydh ap Cynan; expreſſing in terms of courteſy and friendſhip, a deſire of ſeeing him in England. Pleaſed with the flattering attention of ſo potent a monarch, he repaired to Henry's court; and was there received with honour and with much hoſpitality, with the addition alſo of preſents in jewels, and other valuable effects, to a conſiderable amount. Having thus given a reception to the Welſh king, which might flatter his vanity, or gratify his avarice, Henry, one day, laid open his deſign, repreſenting to him the evils which might ariſe from giving protection to the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr, whoſe ambition was likely to diſturb the peace of all Wales; and offering, at the ſame time, the moſt ſplendid rewards, if he would ſend either the perſon or the head of the young prince into England.[1] A mind leſs ſavage than that of a barbarian muſt feel ſome reluctance, before it could reſolve to give up as a victim to the cruel and intereſted policy of Henry, an orphan prince who had ſought his protection. But the ſacred obligations of honour and of juſtice, the ties of friendſhip and the feelings of humanity, with every idea of prudence and patriotiſm, were, on this occaſion, annihilated.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 175. [2] Ibid. [3] Or *hero.*

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 176.

The friends of Gryffydh ap Rhys, ſuſpecting ſome evil from the late ſingular proceedings, adviſed him and his brother Howel to withdraw themſelves; that they might have an opportunity of obſerving the conduct of Gryffydh ap Cynan upon his return into Wales. On the arrival of that prince at his palace of Aberffraw, he enquired for Gryffydh ap Rhys; but was informed that he had retired from the court. Diſcovering the place of his retreat, the king ſent out a body of horſemen to take him priſoner, and to conduct him back; but fortunately the young prince had notice of the deſign, though he had ſcarcely time to take ſanctuary in the church of Aberdaron; a privileged place in the preſent county of Caernarvon.[1] The king of North Wales, having violated more ſacred laws, had no ſcruple to infringe the privileges of ſanctuary; and commanded Gryffydh ap Rhys to be taken out of his aſylum by force. In this unpopular attempt his authority had no weight; for the clergy of that country, eager to defend their immunities, ſo effectually reſiſted the endeavours of his ſoldiers, that they were not able to execute his orders. In the night, the partiſans of the young prince ſecretly conveyed him to Strath Towi, a deep foreſt in South Wales; where having collected the adherents of his family, he meditated hoſtilities againſt the Normans and Flemings.[2]

The firſt enterpriſe of Gryffydh ap Rhys, A. D. 1116. was to deſtroy ſeveral caſtles belonging to the Engliſh. But, his forces increaſing, he extended his ravages into Pembroke; and even menaced with a ſiege the caſtle of Caermarthen, which Henry had made the principal ſeat of government. The Norman officers, who had the charge of this fortreſs, judging that their own ſtrength was inſufficient to maintain the place, ſent for the Welſh chieftains who were vaſſals to Henry; and, requiring each of them to defend it by turns for fourteen days, committed the caſtle to their cuſtody. Owen the ſon of Caradoc, whoſe mother was daughter to Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, was the firſt to undertake its defence. Gryffydh ap Rhys, having ſent ſpies to reconnoitre the ſituation of the place, ſuddenly inveſted it, being told that the works were aſſailable. A ſhout which his troops ſet up as they advanced to the aſſault, gave Owen notice of his danger; upon which, that chieftain, depending upon the ſupport of his garriſon, ruſhed forward to oppoſe the enemy; but being deſerted by his ſoldiers, he was ſlain in the action, valiantly fighting upon the ramparts. The town was taken and demoliſhed; the caſtle was only diſmantled. The young prince, then, retreated with conſiderable booty to his poſt in the foreſt of Strath Towi; from whence he frequently iſſued, with the fierceneſs of a tiger, and ravaged the country around.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 176. [2] Ibid.

The ſpoils his followers had lately obtained, and the fame which he himſelf had acquired, drew to his ſtandard great numbers of men, whoſe age and ſpirit were congenial with his own; and who, admiring his activity and courage, were in full confidence that he would ſoon recover his father's dominions. Thus reinforced, Gryffydh loſt no time in purſuing his ſucceſs, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of two fortreſſes more belonging to the Engliſh; one of which was the caſtle of Gwyr, and the other the property of William de Londres. After this enterpriſe, he again retired to his ſtrong ſituation with the cattle and plunder he had taken.

These ſucceſſes had conſiderably raiſed the reputation of Gryffydh ap Rhys; and in conſequence of which, the chieftains of Caerdigan eſpouſed his cauſe, and ſubmitted to his government; looking up to him as the guardian of his country, and calling on him to free them from the odious and ignominious tyranny of foreigners. Much pleaſed with the invitation which theſe chieftains had ſent him, he entered their territories, and was received by them with great cordiality and honour.[1] The proſperity of his arms was equal to the rapidity of his movements. He ſuddenly came to Caerdigan Iſcoed, and laid ſiege to a fortreſs, which the earl of Strigyl had erected at Blaen Porth Gwithan in that neighbourhood; and after a ſevere conteſt and ſuſtaining many terrible aſſaults, though with the loſs only of one of his own ſoldiers, the place was at length taken, and burned to the ground. As far as Penwedic the ſame devaſtation attended the deſerted houſes of the

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 178.

Engliſh inhabitants; who, ſtruck with diſmay, had fled from the fury of the Welſh. He then laid ſiege to a fortreſs called Strath-Peithyll in Caerdigan, belonging to the ſteward of the earl of Strigyl; which he took by aſſault, and put the garriſon to the ſword. Advancing to Glaſgrig, he there encamped to give his forces a day's reſt. Near this place was the church of Llanbadarn, one of thoſe ſanctuaries which poſſeſſed very high privileges; and in which the cattle, feeding within certain precincts, were regarded as ſacred.[1] Out of this aſylum he ventured to take ſome cattle to refreſh his army; an impolitic, though it might be a neceſſary meaſure; as it was likely to injure his reputation with his countrymen, by wounding their religious feelings. He then propoſed on the following day to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. The governor, acquainted with the deſign, ſent to Strath-Meyric*, a neighbouring fortreſs, for a reinforcement;

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 179.

* *Yſtrad Meirig.*

which during the night was ſafely conveyed into the caſtle.[1] Ignorant of this, Gryffydh ap Rhys preſerved no order among his troops, and confident of ſucceſs, appeared before the place; but being drawn into an ambuſcade laid for him by the governor, his forces were defeated with much ſlaughter, and he himſelf compelled to quit that province.[2] He, A. D. 1116. however continued ſome time longer to maintain himſelf in the foreſt of Strath-Towi.[3] The conduct of this prince, which brightened his early life, promiſed to open with ſtill greater luſtre; but the diſaſter he had lately experienced, or, perhaps, a diminiſhed reputation, ſeems to have given a check to his career, and to have cooled the ardor of his enterpriſing ſpirit.

Unable to ſubdue this prince by open hoſtilities, Henry had recourſe to meaſures, wicked in their principles, and marking a mean and narrow policy. He ſent orders to Owen the ſon of Cadwgan, one of the late princes of Powys, to repair to the Engliſh court. On his arrival, the king expreſſed much confidence in his fidelity; and deſired him, on ſtrong aſſurances of recompence, to aſſaſſinate Gryffydh ap Rhys, or to take him priſoner. That chieftain, whoſe ſavage manners rendered him ſuitable for ſuch an employment, gladly accepted the commiſſion. Returning into Wales, he engaged in the ſame odious deſign Llywarch ap Trahaearn, a chieftain of that country; and with their joint forces they marched towards the foreſt of Strath-Towi, to form a junction with Robert earl of Glouceſter, the natural ſon of Henry by Nêſt his late concubine; whom the king his father had ſent to give vigour to an enterpriſe, the deſign of which was the murder of his uncle. The ruffians being arrived on the confines of the foreſt, they bound themſelves in a ſolemn engagement, not to ſuffer man, woman, or child, who inhabited that diſtrict, to eſcape alive out of their hands. The people of that country, hearing of this ſavage reſolution, left their habitations, to hide themſelves in caves and amidſt rocks and woods; while others ſought refuge even in the caſtles belonging to the Normans.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 179. [2] Ibid. p. 180.

[3] Lord Littelton's Life of Henry II. vol. II. p. 61.

In order to facilitate their entrance into the foreſt, the approaches being narrow and difficult, the chiefs divided their force into ſeparate parties. Owen himſelf at the head of about a hundred ſoldiers, entered the woods; and in his way, perceiving the footſteps of men, he purſued and overtook them, killed ſome of their number, and diſperſed the remainder; then, ſeiſing on their cattle, he returned with his plunder towards the main body of the army. At this moment, Gerald the governor of Pembroke caſtle, made his appearance, intending to join the king's forces. Meeting the people who had fled from Owen, they complained of the injury they had juſt received, and implored his aſſiſtance. In an inſtant the idea of revenge ruſhed upon his mind, for the inſult which his honour had received ſome years before, by the outrage which Owen had committed on his wife. He inſtantly entered the foreſt in purſuit of that chieftain, who being warned by his followers of the approaching danger, refuſed to fly; confident that his purſuers intended him no injury, they, like himſelf, being vaſſals of the king of England. As ſoon as Gerald and his forces drew near, they diſcharged a volley of arrows. Owen, then, finding his miſtake, with much ſpirit, called upon his men to ſupport him; telling them, that though their enemies were ſeven to one in number, they were only Flemings, affrighted at the name of a Welſhman, and were only diſtinguiſhed by drinking deep at carouſals. In the firſt onſet Owen ap Cadwgan was ſlain; an arrow having pierced his heart. His death diſpirited his followers, who fled to the main body of the army; and the tidings of this outrage, having given the confederates a diſtruſt of the king's forces, they diſperſed, and returned into their reſpective countries.[1] In this manner died, ſuitably to the tenor of his life, this bold and profligate chieftain.

The princes of the houſe of Powys revolted, at this time, from their allegiance to Henry, and making inroads upon the Engliſh marches, committed there great depredations.

The Engliſh monarch, incenſed at their
A. D. 1121. 21ſt of Henry I. revolt, once more marched in perſon at the head of a powerful army into Wales.[2] When he arrived on the confines of Powys, Me-

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 182.

[2] Simon Dunelme, p. 245. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 42. Roger Hovedon, p. 477. John Brompton, p. 1013. Theſe writers ſay, that in this expedition, the king penetrated as far as Snowdun.

redydh ap Bleddyn, and his nephews, the three ſons of the late prince Cadwgan ap Bleddyn, implored the aſſiſtance of Gryffydh the king of North Wales. But this prince, eſtranged from the real intereſts of his country, and ſtill deluded by the artifice of Henry, refuſed to afford them any ſuccour, or to allow them the liberty of entering into any part of his dominions; he being then, as he told them, at peace with that monarch.

The Welſh princes, deſpairing of any other relief, than what they might derive from their own ſpirit and exertions, prepared for their defence; and with much judgment ſtationed bodies of men to guard the different paſſes into the country. The Engliſh king, having ordered his army to take a larger circuit, that the conveyance of his carriages might be rendered more eaſy, entered himſelf with a few troops into a narrow defile. The Welſh, ſtationed in places of advantage, began to ſkirmiſh with their arrows; killing ſome, and wounding many of his party. An arrow accidentally ſhot from an unknown hand, ſtruck the king on the breaſt: he received little or no injury from the blow, the force of it being broken by the excellent temper of his *habergeon*, or coat of mail.[1] It was uncertain from whence the ſtroke proceeded; but Henry, the inſtant he felt it, ſwore by the "death of our Lord," his uſual oath, that the arrow came not from a Welſh but an Engliſh bow.[2] The danger he had ſo narrowly eſcaped made him deſirous of ending the war; in which a ſingle misfortune, in ſo wild a country, might ſully the renown he had formerly acquired. There was ſomething faſtidious in the idea, that the glory of Henry would be tarniſhed, by any check his arms might receive from the Welſh; a people, who, though rude, and deriving little ſplendor from alliances, or the extent or ſituation of their country, had hitherto baffled the various attempts, which a powerful nation like the Engliſh, had made againſt their liberties.

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[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 140. Welſh Chron. p. 185.

[2] William Malmſbury, p. 158. Franckfort edit. Baker's Chron. p. 40.

The king, in this ſituation, and under the ſenſe of alarm, entered into a negociation with Meredydh the prince of Powys; who ſubmitted to give hoſtages, to pay a thouſand head of cattle, and a ſmall ſum of money as a compenſation for the treaſon committed in this inſurrection by himſelf, and by his nephews. On theſe terms, Henry very willingly granted them pardon and peace; and returned into England, having A. D. 1122. appointed the lord Fitzwarren to be warden of the marches.[1]

A spirit of cruelty, which bordered upon frenzy, and which broke aſunder the ties of A. D. 1125. nature, ſeiſed on the different branches of 1127.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 185, 186, 187. William Malmſbury, p. 159.

the houſe of Powys; an effect produced by the cuſtom of *gavel-kind*, that fatal ſource from which the Welſh have taſted ſo deeply of the waters of bitterneſs.[1]

It ſeems, at this time, as if Gryffydh ap Rhys had lain down his arms, and had been taken into favour by the Engliſh king; having received from that prince a diſtrict of land, on which for a while he remained in quiet. Though given for the ſupport of his family, or to ſecure his fidelity, this eſtate was, however, taken from him by Henry, on A. D. 1127. 27th of Henry I. a fictitious charge brought againſt him by the Normans, near whom he reſided.[2] There was ſomething ſingular and cruel, in thus driving a prince into want, dependence and deſpair, in the very country of which he himſelf was the natural ſovereign.

A. D. 1133. Meredydh prince of Powys, the laſt ſurviving ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn, died at this time; who, forſaking the intereſts of his native country, had long become a ſubject to the king of England.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 186, 187, 188.

[2] Ibid. p. 187.

Soon after this event died alſo Henry the firſt, and Stephen ſucceeded to the Engliſh crown. A. D. 1135.

The news of Henry's death, arriving in Wales, excited a general commotion: a ſpirit of revolt and hoſtility was inſtantly diffuſed. Even Gryffydh ap Cynan, who ſo long had deſerted the dignity of his character, deluded by artifice, or influenced by a perſonal regard for the late king, joined in the common cauſe againſt the Engliſh. The inſurrection began in the territory of Pembroke, and a conſiderable body of Normans were cut in pieces. Animated with ſucceſs, the inſurgents ſpread over and ravaged the whole of that country; putting to death all the foreigners wherever they came.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 188.

[2] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63. taken from Geſt. Reg. Step. p. 930, 931, 932. & Continuat. ad Flor. Wig. ſub annos, 1135, 1136, 1137.

To purſue the revolt with greater ability and vigour, Gryffydh ap Rhys found it neceſſary to go into North Wales, to procure a reinforcement of troops from his father-in-law Gryffydh ap Cynan. In the abſence of that prince, his wife Gwenlhian, deſirous of aiding the generous deſigns of her huſband, took the field in perſon at the head of her own forces, attended by her two ſons. This lady's ſucceſs was not equal to her gallant ſpirit. Her army was defeated not far from the caſtle of Cydweli, by Maurice de Londres, an Engliſh lord poſſeſſed of great property in the country. Morgan, one of her ſons, was ſlain in the action, and her other ſon Maelgwyn taken priſoner; and the princeſs herſelf, it is ſaid, was beheaded by the orders of her brutal enemy.[1] An action ſo ſavage, without precedent even in theſe times, called loudly for vengeance on the ſpirit of the injured princes.[2]

ALIVE

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[1] Girald. Cambr. Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

[2] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. IX. and alſo Dr. Powel's notes on the ſaid chapter. This circumſtance

clearly

Alive to an injury ſo ſingular and atrocious, her brothers Owen Gwynedh and Cadwalader, laid waſte, with infinite fury, the province of Caerdigan.[1] Among a people, whoſe manners ſeem to have been little refined by ideas of chivalry, we are ſurpriſed at the appearance of characters, whoſe perſonal qualities, and bravery of ſpirit, whoſe courteous and gentle demeanour, might have entitled them to diſpute the palm with the accompliſhed knights of the feudal ages.[2] Theſe diſtinguiſhed perſons were the ſons of Gryffydh ap Cynan. As ſoon as theſe princes arrived in South Wales, ſeveral chieftains joined their army; and being thus reinforced, they took and deſtroyed the caſtles of Aberyſtwyth,[3] Dinerth, and Caerwedros, and two

A. D. 1135. 1ſt of Stephen.

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clearly contradicts the aſſerſion of Florentius Monk of Weſtminſter, that Gwenlhian wife to Gryffydh ap Rhys, by deceitful practices, had been the cauſe of his death. See Welſh Chron. p. 190.

[1] Welſh Chr. p. 189. [2] Girald. Camb. lib. II. cap. XII.

[3] The word *Aber*, which frequently occurs in the Welſh hiſtory, ſignifies that point where a leſſer river runs into a larger; or where a river diſcharges itſelf into the ſea.

other fortreſſes belonging to Walter Aſpec, and Richard de la Mare; all of which were ſtrong and well garriſoned. Having finiſhed the campaign, ſo much to the honour of their feelings, the princes returned into North Wales.[1]

A. D. 1136. In revenge, it is probable, of the late devaſtations, Ranulph earl of Cheſter made an inroad into Wales; but being on a ſudden intercepted by the Welſh, it was with great difficulty, that he himſelf, with five of his ſoldiers, were able to eſcape; the remainder of his forces having been put to the ſword.[2]

On the cloſe of the ſame year, Owen and Cadwalader again invaded South Wales, at the head of a formidable force; conſiſting of ſix thouſand infantry, and two thouſand horſe, all of which were compleatly armed. Gryffydh ap Rhys, who had married their ſiſter, and was all on fire for vengeance, beſides many eminent chieftains, joined the princes of North Wales; and ſtrengthened their army by conſiderable ſupplies.[1] With a violence not to be reſiſted, the confederate princes ſubdued the whole country as far as the town of Caerdigan; expelling the foreigners, and reinſtating the native inhabitants. To repel this formidable inſurrection, the united force of the Normans, the Flemings, and the Engliſh, in Wales or in the marches, was exerted, under the conduct of ſeveral powerful barons; who determined by one great effort to recover the territories lately torn from them.[2] Theſe were the two ſons of Gerald de Windſor, with Robert Fitzmartyn, and William Fitz John, beſides Stephen the governor of Caerdigan; who, after the death of Gerald, had married Nêſt,[3] the widow of that lord.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 189.

[2] Simon Dunelme, Continuata, p. 258, 259.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 190. [2] Ibid. p. 189

[3] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. I. p. 63.

The courage of the Welſh had, in various ſituations, been terrible to their enemies: on this occaſion, it ſeems to have been raiſed above the uſual ſtandard; fired with reſentment at the late outrage, and animated by the example of leaders, whoſe ſpirit and talents rendered them ſo fit for command. The Engliſh, after a ſevere and bloody conflict, were defeated, with the loſs of three thouſand men; and flying to their caſtles for ſafety, were ſo cloſely purſued, that many priſoners were taken, and great numbers drowned in the Teivi; a bridge acroſs that river having broken down, over which the fugitives were obliged to paſs.[1] Never before had the Engliſh, in their various attempts upon Wales, received ſo terrible a blow. Having finiſhed another proſperous campaign, the two young princes returned into North Wales; carrying with them, to grace their triumph, the horſes and armour, and the rich ſpoils they had taken.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 189. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 4. Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 364.

[2] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 22.

In the courſe of theſe events, Richard earl of Clare, to whom the territory of Caerdigan had been given by Henry, was murdered by Jorwerth, the brother of Morgan of Caer-Lleon; as he was riding through a foreſt, enjoying the pleaſure of muſic, and without ſuſpicion of an enemy.[1] His widow the counteſs of Clare, and ſiſter to the earl of Cheſter, had retired into one of his caſtles, on the murder of her huſband. In this fortreſs, during the late campaign, ſhe was beſieged by the Welſh. The ſituation of this lady was truly deplorable. She was inveſted by an irritated enemy, and in want of proviſions; the Engliſh were nearly all ſlain, or expelled the country; her brother was at a diſtance, and ſo employed in defending his own territories, that he could not afford her any timely relief: and, what contributed to render her ſituation ſtill more wretched, ſhe had reaſon to expect every hour a fate, which ſhe might deem more cruel than death itſelf;

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

the Welſh, like many other nations, having uſually taken their female captives, even thoſe of the higheſt rank, to be their concubines.[1] In this dreadful ſtate, Milo Fitz Waler, who, by right of his wife the daughter of Bernard de Newmarche, was the lord of Brecknock, received orders from king Stephen to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to ſet at liberty the unfortunate counteſs. There was ſo much difficulty and danger in the enterpriſe, that its ſucceſs appeared almoſt impoſſible. A generous pity, which a brave mind ever feels for weakneſs in diſtreſs, and the gallant ſpirit of chivalry, made him however attempt, at every hazard, to deliver the lady out of danger. He loſt no time, therefore, in marching, with a choſen body of troops, through ways which were leaſt frequented; traverſing along the tops of mountains and through the deep woods of the country; and at length, having had the good fortune to arrive at the caſtle, unſeen by the Welſh, he carried away the counteſs of Clare, and all her retinue.[1] An action ſo gallant and humane, equals many of the fanciful deſcriptions which are found in romance, and proves ſuch pictures to have borne ſome reſemblance to the manners of the feudal ages.

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Life of Henry II. p. 64. Cadwalader, one of theſe princes, afterwards married the daughter of this counteſs of Clare. Hiſt. Gwedir, p. 5.

We ſee not on this occaſion, the ſame gallantry of ſpirit in Owen and Cadwalader; nor in other parts of their ſubſequent conduct; though theſe princes, it is ſaid, were highly diſtinguiſhed for humanity and courteous manners.[2]

The power of the confederacy againſt the A. D. 1137.
Engliſh, was much weakened by the death of Gryffydh the ſon of Rhys ap Tewdwr; who, cloſing with his life a ſeries of gallant actions, reflected back the honours he had

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Henry II. vol. II. p. 64. from Girald. Cambrenſis. Itin. Cam. cap. II. lib. I.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 189.

received from a long line of illuſtrious anceſtry.[1]

The ſame fate, ſoon after the late proſperous campaign, attended Gryffydh ap Cynan king of North Wales; who died at the A. D. 1137. 3d of Stephen. advanced age of eighty-two, and was buried on the ſouth ſide of the great altar in the church of Bangor.[2] This prince had three ſons and five daughters by his wife Angharad the daughter of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield. The names of the three ſons were Owen, Cadwalader, and Cadwallon; the youngeſt of whom was ſlain before the death of his father.[3] He had likewiſe five other children by another woman.[4]

In ſuch a country as North Wales, where ſo many cauſes conſpired to render its government unſtable, and the enjoymont of it often fatal to the ſovereign, that the late prince ſhould have been able to extend his reign to fifty years, was an extraordinary inſtance of good fortune, and a proof of his poſſeſſing conſiderable abilities. The love of freedom, which had diſtinguiſhed the early part of his life, infuſed the ſame ſpirit into the minds of his ſubjects; and which led them to diſdain the ignominious yoke impoſed on them by a foreign power. His valour, and his abilities, aiding their returning virtue, delivered his country from the vaſſalage of England; and, in general, by his conduct with Henry, or by the vigour of his government, he preſerved his dominions free from the invaſions of the Engliſh, and from civil commotions. The recital of theſe virtues, which form the ſhining features of his character, is no more than a juſt eulogium on his memory. But other impreſſions are marked on the reverſe of the medal, expreſſive of a conduct neither amiable nor great. A juſt policy required him to unite in the common cauſe, as to one central point, the jarring intereſts which prevailed in the other principalities; and the importance of his own ſituation and character, ſhould have induced him to reflect, that he himſelf was the great ſpring, which was to give life and vigour, and efficacy to the exertions of the whole. He ought to have known that the conqueſt of Wales was a leading principle in the politics of England; and that the princes of that country would never ceaſe to exert every effort of ſagacity and power, until their ambition had been ſatiated by the conqueſt, or by the entire deſtruction of the Welſh. Impreſſed with ideas ſuch as theſe, he ought to have regarded every offer of friendſhip, made by the Engliſh monarch, as a deluſive ſnare to his honour: and at every gift, he ought to have exclaimed in the natural language of diſtruſt, *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes.* Influenced by a perſonal regard to Henry, or by motives of a baſer nature, he was led to prefer a ſelfiſh and ſolitary peace with the Engliſh, to the more generous and manly conduct of ſharing in the common danger; and of attempting to preſerve the general freedom of his country, by uniting its ſtrength. He was prevented, indeed, by his tedious captivity in Cheſter, from taking an active part, in impeding the conqueſts which the Engliſh were making in South Wales; nor is it candid to ſuppoſe, in that period of his life, he was inſenſible to the danger of that country, or could be cold to its intereſts. The ſame plea will not juſtify another part of his conduct. Inſtead of giving ſecurity to Powys, a barrier of ſuch importance to his kingdom, he left the princes of that country, on its being invaded by Henry, to abide their fate; refuſing, under a cold pretence, to afford them protection or relief. Theſe traits of his character, with a deſire of ſacrificing to the jealouſy of the Engliſh king an orphan prince, who had ſought his protection, and whoſe birth and talents might have rendered him the inſtrument of his country's ſafety, evince; that the conduct of Gryffydh ap Cynan was not entirely directed by the principles of honour, or humanity, or of a ſolid and extenſive policy.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 190.
[2] Vita Griff. fil. Conani.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 191. Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 1.
[4] Welſh Chron. p. 191.

HISTORY

HISTORY OF WALES.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF GRYFFYDH AP CYNAN TO THE ACCESSION OF LLEWELYN AP JORWERTH.

On the death of Gryffydh ap Cynan, his dominions, agreeably to the cuſtom of the country, were divided among his ſons. His eldeſt ſon, Owen, ſurnamed Gwynedh, under the newly adopted title of *prince*, ſucceeded as ſovereign of North Wales. A. D. 1137. 2d of Stephen.

This active prince, in confederacy with his brother, began his reign by a third expedition into South Wales, with the ſame fortunate iſſue which had heretofore followed his arms; deſtroying in his progreſs the caſtles of Strath-Meyric, Stephen, and Humfrey, and burning to the ground the town of Caermarthen.[1] Retaining in his poſſeſſion all Caerdigan, and obliging the inhabitants of Pembroke to pay him tribute, he returned into his own dominions in high reputation.[2]

The ſeries of proſperity which of late had attended the Welſh princes, might in ſome meaſure be owing to the embarraſſed ſituation of Stephen king of England. This prince, engaged in continual hoſtilities, and in ſupporting a doubtful title, had neither inclination nor leiſure to intereſt himſelf in affairs, in which he himſelf had no immediate concern; and were tranſacted too in ſo remote a part of the iſland. In conſequence of which, he concluded a peace with the Welſh, and allowed them to retain the territories they had lately recovered free of homage or tribute; at leaſt, it does not appear that either the one or the other was ever paid, during his reign, by any of the princes of Wales.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 193.

[2] Brit. Ant. Rev. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

An incident aroſe at this time, affording an example of ſavage manners; which proved fatal to the parties concerned, and, in the event, had nearly involved the ſtate in ruin. Anarawd the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, had married the daughter of Cadwalader, the brother of Owen prince of North Wales. A violent diſpute having ariſen between the father and the ſon, they decided the conteſt by a ſingle combat. In this rencounter Anarawd was ſlain. Owen was ſo incenſed at A. D. 1142. this outrage committed by his brother, that he, with his ſon Howel, invaded the territories of that prince; ſet on fire his caſtle of Aberyſtwyth, laid waſte the country, and obliged him to fly into Ireland. Engaging in his ſervice ſeveral Iriſh chieftains, and a large body of forces, Cadwalader landed at Abermenai in Caernarvonſhire; where he was oppoſed by the prince of North Wales with a powerful army; but before any action had taken place, a peace was concluded between the two brothers; which ſo incenſed the Iriſh, that they detained Cadwalader, as a ſecurity, until they had received their ſtipulated pay. That prince, to recover his liberty, gave them two thouſand head of cattle. As ſoon as the prince of North Wales had heard that his brother was at liberty, he ſuddenly attacked the Iriſh; ſlew great numbers of them, and recovered the cattle which had been given by Cadwalader, A. D. 1142. with the priſoners and other ſpoils they had taken in the country.[1]

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II. vol. II. p. 66.

After this expedition, Howel* and Cynan, the illegitimate ſons of Owen Gwynedh, made another inroad into South Wales; gave the Normans, who oppoſed them, an overthrow, and took poſſeſſion of the town of Caerdigan.[1]* This was ſucceeded by an attempt which was made by Gilbert earl of Clare; to recover thoſe territories which, it is probable, Stephen in the late treaty had ceded to the Welſh. With this view he came with a large army into Pembroke, and rebuilt the caſtle of Caermarthen, and another fortreſs.[2] To defeat his deſign, Cadell the ſon of the late Gryffydh ap Rhys, laid ſiege to, and made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Dinevawr. Joining then his forces with thoſe of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they inveſted the caſtle of Caermarthen; which was ſoon given up on condition that the lives of the garriſon ſhould be ſpared.[3] This advantage encouraged them to appear before the caſtle of Llanſtephan,‡ in the county of Caermarthen; to the relief of which came a large body of the enemy; but ſucceſs ſtill attending on the arms of the Welſh, the Normans were defeated and the fortreſs was taken. The Normans and Flemings who inhabited that country, under the conduct of the ſons of Gerald, and of William de Hay, in hopes of recovering the caſtle, ſuddenly inveſted it. Meredydh the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, to whoſe cuſtody the fortreſs was committed, defended it with great valour, and with equal ability; for having ſuffered the enemy to ſcale the walls, and at the moment, when the ladders were crowded with ſoldiers, he cauſed them to be overturned by the means of engines he had previouſly provided. This diſcomfiture, with the loſs they had ſuſtained, obliged the Normans to raiſe the ſiege.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 197.

* Beſides being a gallant warrior, prince Howel was a Bard of ſome eminence; ſeveral poems of his being now extant.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 198.

* *Aberteivi.*

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 198.

[3] Ibid.

‡ Situated near the mouth of the river *Towi.*

A. D. 1143. 8th of Stephen.

An affliction of a private nature, the ſudden death of Rhun,[2] a favourite though an illegitimate ſon, fell at this time upon Owen prince of North Wales. In the bitterneſs of his ſorrow, the afflicted father gave himſelf up to ſolitude and to tears. But the deſire of aſſiſting the operations ſo ſucceſsfully begun in South Wales, as well as the importance of the object, reviving the ſpirit of an active and a gallant prince, he determined to lay ſiege to the caſtle of Mold, in Flintſhire. A. D. 1144. That fortreſs, ſituated on the Welſh frontier, was exceedingly ſtrong, and had within it a numerous garriſon of Engliſh; who frequently ſallying out, much infeſted the adjacent country. It had been frequently beſieged by the Welſh; but on account of its ſtrength and warlike appointments, every attempt had hitherto proved unſucceſsful. The place was at this time inveſted by Owen, and the garriſon with great intrepidity ſuſtained many terrible aſſaults; at length, the Welſh, animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, bore down every reſiſtance, and entered the caſtle by ſtorm. Having taken priſoners thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword, prince Owen levelled with the ground the walls of that fortreſs. In doing which he gave no proof of his military ſagacity; ſuch a place being evidently of importance, as a check to the inroads of the Engliſh on the frontier of his dominions. The glory of this atchievement ſo elevated the ſpirits of the Welſh prince, that he ſoon forgot his ſorrows; and recovered the uſual tone of his mind, as well as a reliſh for his former amuſements.[a]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 198.

[2] Ibid. p. 226.

The ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys having laid ſiege to the caſtle of Gwys in Pembrokeſhire, and finding their own force unequal to the enterpriſe, they deſired the aſſiſtance A. D. 1145. of Howel, the natural ſon of Owen Gwynedh; whoſe talents for the council or the field were high in the eſteem of his country. This young prince, eager for glory, joined the three Welſh lords; and having reconnoitered the fortreſs, he cauſed engines to be conſtructed to batter its walls, and to annoy the ſoldiers by throwing large ſtones into the caſtle. Preparations ſo formidable, and probably ſo novel, intimidated the garriſon, who inſtantly ſurrendered the fort. After this exploit, Howel returned into his own country.[1]

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[a] Welſh Chron. p. 199.

A DISSENSION having ariſen between Howel and Cynan, the ſons of the prince of North Wales, and Cadwalader their uncle, the young princes led a body of troops into Meirionydh, to ravage his territories. The terror of this inroad cauſed the inhabitants to fly into different places of ſanctuary. But the princes having proclaimed, that no injury was intended to any perſon who ſubmitted to their authority, the people, accuſtomed to a change of maſters, quietly returned to their own habitations. They then inveſted the caſtle of Cynvael, erected by Cadwalader, and left by that prince to the cuſtody of the Abbot of Ty Gwyn. Neither menaces, nor offers of rewards, could ſhake the fidelity

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 200.

of this warlike prieſt; he defended the place with great intrepidity, until the walls of the caſtle were beaten down, and all the garriſon were either wounded or ſlain; he then made his eſcape by means of ſome friends which he had in the enemies army.[1] Some time after, another of his fortreſſes was taken by A. D. 1148. his nephew Howel, his territory wreſted from him, and Cadwalader himſelf impriſoned.[2]

Animosity againſt the Engliſh, and the ſame gallantry of ſpirit which had diſtinguiſhed the father, animated the ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys. Cadell, one of the ſons of that prince, having fortified the caſtle of Caermarthen, iſſued from thence with a body of troops, and marched to Cydweli, the country about which he ravaged and laid waſte; then, joining his forces with thoſe of his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, they entered into

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 201.

[2] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 168.

Caerdigan, and ſubdued a part of that diſtrict.[1]

The incidents of this reign have been hitherto confined to enterpriſes of no national importance. But a tranſaction aroſe at this time, which in ſome meaſure menaced the ſafety of the ſtate, and called into exerciſe the military talents of the prince of North Wales. To recover the credit of his arms, which had been loſt by a former defeat in Wales, Ranulph earl of Cheſter meditated a formidable invaſion of that country.[2] Beſides his own vaſſals, he collected from different parts of England a large body of troops. He engaged likewiſe in the deſign Madoc ap Meredydh, at this time the prince of Powys; who diſdaining to hold his territories under the ſovereignty of North Wales, joined the arms of the earl of Cheſter; and the two leaders, with their united forces, entered the dominions of Owen Gwynedh. On this invaſion, that prince advanced into Flintſhire, to give his enemies the meeting at Counſyllt, on the confines of his kingdom. This movement, as rapid as it was bold, infuſed a ſpirit into his army, and ſecured his own territories from the devaſtations of war. Contrary to the uſual cuſtom of the Welſh, of ſcarcely ever riſquing a general engagement, or of attacking an enemy unleſs in ſituations of advantage, Owen, availing himſelf of the ardour of his troops, faced the Engliſh and offered them battle; though their forces were ſuperior to his own in numbers, and had alſo the advantage from the nature of their arms. The fortune of the day decided in favour of the Welſh; who ſo entirely diſcomfited the Engliſh, that few remained to witneſs their diſgrace; except thoſe who were taken priſoners, and the leaders of the army, who eſcaped the fury of the purſuit by the ſwiftneſs of their horſes.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 202.

[2] Ibid. p. 197.

A. D. 1150. 15th of Stephen.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 202. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 4.

Though urged to a different conduct, by every motive of prudence, Cadell, Meredydh, and Rhys, the ſons of Gryffydh ap Rhys, invaded Caerdigan, which was the property of Howel the ſon of the prince of North Wales; and ſubdued the whole of that territory, except a ſingle fortreſs in Pengwern. The loſs of the braveſt of their ſoldiers, which they ſuſtained at the ſiege of Llanryſtyd caſtle, ſo irritated the young princes, that when they gained poſſeſſion of it, they put the garriſon to the ſword. From thence they proceeded to the caſtle of Strath-Meyric; which, after they had taken, they fortified with new works; and the princes, then, diſbanding their forces, returned into South Wales.[1]

A. D. 1150. 15th of Stephen.

Cadell, the eldeſt of theſe lords, being fond of the pleaſures of the chace, engaged in a hunting party to amuſe himſelf after the toils of the late expedition. This prince

A. D. 1150.

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 170.

had no ſooner begun his diverſion, than the inhabitants of Tenby, who had conceived ſome diſpleaſure againſt him, ſuddenly attacked his party; and, unarmed as they were, eaſily put them to flight. Cadell himſelf, ſorely wounded, eſcaped with difficulty to his houſe, where he languiſhed a conſiderable time. In revenge of this treatment, his brothers Meredydh and Rhys, entered the territory of Gwyr in Glamorgan; and having laid waſte that country, they made themſelves maſters of the caſtle of Aberllychwr, which they levelled with the ground; they then returned into their own territories, enriched with much plunder, and rebuilt the caſtle of Dinevawr, the ancient palace of their anceſtors. Some time after, the two princes laid ſiege to the caſtle of Penwedic in Caerdigan, belonging to prince Howel, of which, after ſome difficulty, they gained poſſeſſion; then inveſting the caſtle of Tenby in the night, they took that fortreſs by eſcalade, before the garriſon was aware of any danger; obtaining revenge, by this laſt exploit, for the injury which their brother had lately received.[1]

The cuſtom of Aſiatic ſovereigns, of exterminating the younger branches of their family, was too frequently adopted by the Welſh princes; tinging more deeply their native barbariſm, by a policy ſo mean and ſanguinary. Cadwallon the brother of Owen Gwynedh prince of North Wales, having been aſſaſſinated, in the late reign, in revenge of ſeveral murders which he himſelf had committed, left a ſon of the name of Cynetha, the undoubted heir to his territories. To render his nephew incapable of ſupporting the claim which he had to his paternal inheritance, Owen had the barbarity to pull out his eyes; and refining on a ſavage and a deteſted policy, he alſo cauſed him to be caſtrated; that no heirs in future might lay claim to his territories, or might retaliate the injuries which this prince had received.[2] A. D. 1151.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 203.

[2] Ibid.

An action ſo atrocious, and not to be extenuated even by the rudeneſs of theſe times, throws a deep ſhade over the character of a prince, who, in many reſpects, was a friend to his country, and of an amiable and gallant ſpirit.

A. D. 1151. 16th of Stephen.

Cadwalader, who had been long kept in confinement by his nephew Howel, had the good fortune to eſcape out of priſon; and flying into Angleſey, he brought a great part of that iſland under his ſubjection. The prince of North Wales, hearing of his brother's eſcape, and of the proſperous ſituation of his affairs, ſent againſt him a body of troops; which proving too formidable to be reſiſted by Cadwalader, he was obliged to fly into England, to ſolicit aſſiſtance from the relations of his wife, a daughter of the houſe of Clare.[1]

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[1] Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 5. Welſh Chron. p. 203. At this time (A. D. 1153.) died Meredydh the ſon of the late prince Gryffydh ap Rhys of South Wales.

The late event was followed by another of much greater importance to Wales, by the death of Stephen the king of England; and Henry the ſecond, a more formidable enemy to its intereſts, ſucceeded to the throne.[1] A. D. 1154.

While the Welſh princes were waſting the national force in mutual hoſtilities, the Flemings, who had ſettled as a colony in South Wales, acquired an acceſſion of ſtrength. One of the firſt acts in the government of king Henry, relating to Wales, was to baniſh out of England the Flemiſh ſoldiers, who had followed the fortunes of Stephen; and, poſſeſſing ſound principles of political wiſdom, he gave permiſſion to theſe foreigners, to ſettle among their countrymen in the province of Pembroke.[2] A. D. 1155. 1ſt of Henry II.

Several cauſes conſpired, with the motives of ambition and glory, in engaging the king of England, to employ at this time, the utmoſt exertion of his power, in attempting the conqueſt of Wales. Madoc ap Meredydh, the prince of Powys, conſcious of having joined the enemies of his country; and dreading the reſentment which that conduct had excited in the breaſt of Owen Gwynedh, endeavoured, as a means of his future ſecurity, to incite the Engliſh king to the invaſion of North Wales. Cadwalader, likewiſe, ſince the fatal iſſue of the combat with his nephew, having been treated with ſeverity by his brother Owen, and by the ſons of that prince, had fled into England; and in that court, had employed in proſecution of the ſame deſign, his own ſolicitations, with the powerful intereſt of the houſe of Clare.[1] The glory to be acquired, and the importance of the object, with the apparent facility of the enterpriſe, from the defection of ſuch powerful princes, determined Henry to exert every means, which his great power afforded, for the conqueſt of the country.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 204. [2] Ibid. p. 205.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 206.

A. D. 1157. 3d of Henry II.

He collected out of different parts of England, a very formidable army, with which he marched to Cheſter; then advancing into Flintſhire, he encamped his forces upon a marſh called Saltney, which borders upon the river Dee. Such was the mighty preparations which this prince had made for the conqueſt of Wales, that he compelled every two of his military vaſſals throughout England, to find a ſoldier to reinforce his army, and enable him with greater vigour to proſecute the war.* Owen, the prince of North Wales, with his uſual activity, advancing to the frontiers of his dominions, took poſt at Baſingwerk near Holywell in the county of

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* Matth. Paris, p. 81. There were ſixty thouſand knights fees created by the Conqueror, which muſt make the levy of Henry, raiſed at this time, to amount to 30,000 men. Hume's Hiſt. Eng. vol. II. p. 2. Appendix, p. 141.

Flint. In this ſituation he waited the approach of the Engliſh. The boldneſs of the movement encouraged Henry to hope, that the Welſh prince intended to riſque a general engagement. And in conſequence of which, he diſpatched a choſen body of troops under the command of ſeveral barons of diſtinction; with the deſign of bringing the Welſh to an action, or of diſlodging them from their poſt. This party, in paſſing through the woody and broken country of Coed Eulo, near Hawarden, was attacked by David and Cynan the ſons of Owen Gwynedh; and who, with a body of forces, had lain in ambuſh to intercept them. The ſuddenneſs and impetuoſity of the aſſault, with the unuſual difficulties of their ſituation, ſo intimidated the Engliſh, that they fled in great diſorder, and with much ſlaughter, to the main body of the army[1] Alarmed at the danger, and mortified by the diſgrace, the king of England broke up his camp, and marched along the ſea ſhore to the town of Flint; intending by this manœuvre, to deceive the Welſh prince by leaving him upon the right, and by a nearer road to penetrate into the interior parts of the country. But in paſſing through a long and narrow defile at Counſyllt, he was intercepted by Owen.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 206.

The deſign was conducted with temper and judgment. The Engliſh were permitted to enter unmoleſted ſo far into the ſtrait, as to render their advance or retreat both difficult and dangerous. The Welſh, then, ruſhing with terrible outcries from out of the woods, aſſaulted them with ſtones, arrows, and other miſſile weapons. Struck with diſmay, encumbered with heavy armour, and unaccuſtomed to fight in ſuch ſituations, the Engliſh were again thrown into the utmoſt diſorder; being unable either to retreat, or to reſiſt ſo unexpected an onſet.[1] In the general confuſion, Henry himſelf was obliged to fly; Euſtace Fitz John, and Robert de Courcy, with other noblemen of diſtinction, were ſlain.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 207. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67. Giraldus Cambrenſis, Itin. cap. X. lib. II.

The few of the vanguard who had eſcaped the ſword, fell back upon the main body of the Engliſh, who were advancing in regular order to the entrance of the defile. A rumour inſtantly prevailed of the death of the king; and the earl of Eſſex,* hereditary ſtandard-bearer of England, ſeiſed with the general terror, threw to the ground the royal ſtandard; at the ſame time crying aloud, "The king is ſlain." The terror then became univerſal.[2]

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[1] Stowe's Chron. p. 149.

* The year following, Eſſex was accuſed of treaſon by Robert de Montford; and being vanquiſhed by him in a ſingle combat, which happened in conſequence, he was condemned to death by king Henry; though the ſeverity of the ſentence was afterwards mitigated by that prince; his eſtate, however, was confiſcated, and after being ſhorn like a monk, he was confined during his life in a convent. Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. of Henry II.

[2] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67. Chronica Gervaſii, p. 1380.

The Welſh, perceiving their diſorder, attacked the Engliſh with ſuch impetuoſity, that a general rout muſt have enſued; if at this moment the king, at length extricated from his perilous ſituation, had not made himſelf known to the army, by lifting up the vizor of his helmet. His preſence in an inſtant changed the ſcene. The Engliſh, acquiring freſh ardour from the gallantry of their ſovereign, and who with alacrity led them on to the charge, gave a check to the Welſh forces, and drove them back into the woods.[1]

The prince of Wales, after this ſlight diſaſter, retired to a poſt near St. Aſaph, called from this event *Cil Owen*, or Owen's retreat. On the nearer approach of the king, he retreated to Bryn-y-Pin, a ſtronger poſt ſituated five miles weſt of St. Aſaph.[2] At the ſame time, by the orders of Henry, an

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[1] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 67.

[2] Stowe's Chron. p. 149. A manuſcript copy in Welſh of Caradoc of Llancarvan.

Engliſh fleet, which he had aſſembled at Cheſter, infeſted the coaſt of North Wales. The king of England meeting with no reſiſtance, advanced to Rhuddlan, where he erected a houſe for the knights templars;[1] a new kind of military garriſon in Wales, and eſtabliſhed, it is probable, for a purpoſe ſimilar to the original inſtitution of that *order* in Paleſtine. He, likewiſe, more ſtrongly fortified the caſtle of that town, with the fortreſs at Baſingwerk; and that he might ſecure the conqueſts he had made, by rendering more eaſy the marching of armies, he cut down the woods, and conſtructed new roads through the country he had ſubdued.[2] Owen did not remain an indifferent ſpectator of tranſactions ſo inimical to the intereſts of his country. He deſcended frequently from his poſt on the hill, to ſkirmiſh with the king's troops, and to moleſt them in their deſigns;[3] but no general action enſued; the two princes had been taught prudence by their paſt experience, and did not chuſe to riſque the fate of their ſeparate armies by engaging in improper ſituations. At the ſame time, the Engliſh fleet under the conduct of Madoc ap Meredydh the prince of Powys, made a deſcent on the iſland of Angleſey, ravaged a part of the country, and plundered two churches: on returning to their ſhips, the party was attacked by the whole ſtrength of the iſland, and entirely cut in pieces. Diſmayed with the fate of their aſſociates, the Engliſh fleet weighed anchor, and ſailed back to Cheſter.[1] Owen derived little advantage from theſe fortunate incidents; as the Engliſh were in force, and ſtrongly fortified in the maritime parts of Flintſhire. The wiſe meaſure likewiſe which Henry had employed in having ſtationed a fleet on the coaſt of Wales, gave the Welſh prince reaſon to fear that his army, cooped up in the interior parts of the country, might be in danger of periſhing for want of neceſſary ſuſtenance; as his kingdom had been accuſtomed to receive from foreign countries a great part of its proviſions. Theſe motives, cogent as they may be, will ſcarcely juſtify Owen, as a magnanimous and independent ſovereign, in concluding a peace with the king of England, upon terms ſo injurious to his country, and to his own particular honour and intereſts. A. D. 1157. 3d of Henry II. By this treaty, he himſelf and his chieftains ſubmitted to do homage to Henry,[1] and which ceremony was performed in Snowdun;[2] to yield up thoſe caſtles and diſtricts in North Wales, which in the late reign had been obtained from the Engliſh;[3] to take Cadwalader his brother into favour, and to reſtore him his territories.[4] What contributed ſtill more to complete the humiliating ſcene, he was obliged to deliver up two of his ſons as pledges of his future obedience.[1]

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[1] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 159. [2] Matth. Paris, p. 81.

[3] Manuſcript of Caradoc, ut ſupra. Stow's Chron. ibid.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 207. Giraldus Cambr. Itin. lib. II. cap. VII. William Newburgh, lib. II. cap. V. Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

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[1] Brompton's Chron. p. 1048.

[2] Probably at Conway, where the diſtrict of Snowdun began. Matth. Paris, p. 81.

[3] Annales Waverleienſis, p. 159.

[4] Welſh Chr. p. 208.

Thus have we ſeen the Welſh nation, by a ſolemn act of their ſovereign, and by the means of an Engliſh fleet, reduced again to a dependence on the crown of England. If the long and gallant reſiſtance which this people had made for freedom, againſt a power ſo very unequal, excite our admiration and wonder, we ſhall be no leſs ſurpriſed that a nation like the Engliſh, ſo much farther advanced in political wiſdom, ſhould not have been able ſooner to terminate the conteſt.

A. D. 1158.

The year after this important event, a general peace took place between England and Wales.[2] The princes and all the chieftains of South Wales repaired to the court of England; where Henry granted them peace, on the terms of doing homage for their own territories; and on their ceding to him thoſe diſtricts, which in the late reign had been recovered from the Engliſh.[1]

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 79.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

Rhys the ſon of Gryffydh ap Rhys, the immediate heir to the ſovereign dignity in South Wales, was not included in the general pacification.

Animated with the ſame ſpirit which had heretofore diſtinguiſhed his family, this prince was not willing tamely to yield up to ambitious foreigners, a ſovereign dignity, which had deſcended to him through a long line of anceſtors. Under the juſt fears that Henry would employ his force againſt him, he commanded his vaſſals to remove their goods and cattle into the foreſt of Towi; and from whence, unſupported by any confederate, he made war againſt the Engliſh.[2]

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 80.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

Pleased with his gallant ſpirit, or afraid of his power, Henry ſent him an invitation to his court, under the aſſurance of a gracious reception; but threatened, at the ſame time, if he rejected the friendly overture, that the whole force of Wales and of England ſhould be employed to convey him thither.[1]

The high ſpirit of the Welſh prince was obliged to ſubmit to ſo alarming a ſummons; and by the advice of his friends he repaired to Henry's court; where having done homage, and given up two of his ſons[2] as hoſtages for his fidelity, the diſtrict of Cantrev Mawr, the ancient demeſne of his family, was promiſed him.[3] But contrary to that promiſe, the king gave him only a few lordſhips, and other eſtates remote from each other, and intermixed with the Engliſh territories; with the deſign, no doubt, by ſuch a diſpoſition of his property, to render his power leſs dangerous. Neceſſity obliged Rhys to remain quiet under ſuch unjuſt and mortifying treatment.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

[2] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 81. The like ſecurity was exacted from all the other Welſh chieftains and princes.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

The ſituation of this prince, though little to be envied, excited the rapacious ſpirit of Walter Clifford, and of another Engliſh lord; who making an inroad into his territories, ſlew many of his vaſſals, and carried away conſiderable ſpoils. Rhys ſent immediate intelligence to the king of this outrage, deſiring ſatisfaction for the injury he had received. But Henry, partial to the conduct of his Engliſh ſubjects, and regarding with a jealous eye the intereſts of the Welſh, paid no other attention to his complaints, than holding out to him fallacious aſſurances of redreſs. Incenſed at a conduct ſo faithleſs, Rhys threw off his allegiance; determined that his ſword ſhould do him that juſtice, which had been

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 208.

denied him by the Engliſh king.[1] He begun his revolt, by laying ſiege to the caſtle of Llandovery* in Caermarthenſhire, of which he ſoon gained poſſeſſion. At the ſame time Einion, nephew to the Welſh prince, alike eager to throw off the ignominious yoke, flew to arms; regarding the oath of allegiance which his uncle had taken as diſſolved; the obligation on the part of the king, of doing juſtice and of affording protection, not having been obſerved. He inveſted the caſtle of Humfrey, which he took by ſtorm, and put the garriſon to the ſword. In this fortreſs, he found a number of horſes and implements of war ſufficient to equip a conſiderable body of men. Rhys, likewiſe, with equal rapidity and ſucceſs, ſpread over the whole country of Caerdigan; which he ſoon brought under his ſubjection, after having levelled with the ground every fortreſs belonging to the Engliſh.[2]

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[1] Dr. Powel's notes on Girald. Camb. Itin. lib. I. cap. X.

* *Llanymddyfri.*

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 209.

A. D. 1158. 4th of Henry II. Henry regarded this revolt of ſufficient importance to demand his preſence in South Wales, and entered that country by the ſea coaſt of Glamorgan. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was under the neceſſity of giving up the enterpriſe,[1] and of leaving Rhys ap Gryffydh in poſſeſſion of his conqueſts; on no other condition than that of giving hoſtages for the preſervation of the peace during the king's abſence in Normandy.[2] Thus did the prince of South Wales, deſerted by all his confederates, baffle the efforts of a mighty monarch.

His ſubſequent conduct, by making a ſudden inroad into Pembroke, though only contending for his hereditary rights, yet threw ſome ſtain upon his honour; as it was likely to expoſe the hoſtages,[3] in Henry's hands, to the cruel treatment uſual in theſe times. A. D. 1159. Having laid ſiege to Caermarthen, the earl of Briſtol, natural ſon to Henry, with the earl of Clare and the Welſh prince Cadwalader, his brother by marriage, beſides two other barons, came to the relief of that place. Howel and Cynan, the ſons of the prince of North Wales, joined too, in the unnatural alliance. Unable to reſiſt ſo formidable an oppoſition, Rhys retreated to the mountains of Cevn Reſter, in which ſtrong poſt he remained in ſecurity. The confederate army, encamping for ſome time at Dynwyllir, built there a caſtle; after which, having no intelligence of Rhys ap Gryffydh, they broke up their camp, and returned to their reſpective countries.[1]

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis, lib. II. Cap. X.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 209. [3] Brompton's Chron. p. 1059.

Madoc ap Meredydh, the laſt prince of Powys, dying at Wincheſter, his remains were removed from thence and interred at Meivod in Montgomeryſhire, the uſual burial place of his family. After his death that principality, one half of which, called Powys A. D. 1160.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 210.

Vadoc, he had held entire,[1] underwent ſeveral diviſions by the cuſtom of gavel-kind, and was never again united under one ſovereign. This prince left three ſons, Gryffydh Maelor, Owen, and Elis; beſides a daughter, by Suſannah his wife, who was the daughter of Gryffydh ap Cynan; he had, alſo, Owen Brogyntyn, and two other ſons who were illegitimate; all of whom ſhared, agreeably to the cuſtom of Wales, the paternal inheritance. Likewiſe, Owen his nephew, the ſon of Gryffydh ap Meredydh, ſtiled Owen Cyveilioc, had a diſtrict called by that name, which contained near half of Powys.[2] The ſovereignty of England was acknowledged by all theſe chieftains.

A. D. 1163. 9th of Henry II.

Henry, being returned from Normandy, and having reduced the other Welſh princes to his obedience, turned all his attention to the affairs of South Wales; and to the hoſtilities lately committed againſt him by Rhys ap Gryffydh. That prince, ſtill remaining unſubdued, had, during the abſence of the Engliſh monarch, continually infeſted the adjacent country, from his ſtrong poſt on the mountains of Brecknock; encouraged by ſome prophecies then current in Wales, that the king would never return into England.[1] Incenſed at the frequent violations of the peace, Henry invaded South Wales; and advancing as far as Pencadaer, received the ſubmiſſion of Rhys; who, deſpairing of being able any longer to reſiſt his power, a ſecond time did him homage, and delivered up hoſtages likewiſe for his future fidelity.[2] This ceremony was alſo performed the year following at Woodſtock; where Rhys ap Gryffydh, attended by the other princes and chieftains in Wales, did homage to the Engliſh king, and to Henry his ſon.[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 210, 211.

[2] Ibid.

A. D.
1164.
10th of
Henry II.

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 152.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 220.

[3] V. Diceto. Ymag. Hiſt. ſub Ann. 1163. Math. Paris, p. 84.

The ſubmiſſive demeanour of Rhys ap Gryffydh was of no long continuance. His impatient ſpirit was again ſet on fire by an outrage; marking equally the ferocity of the times, as the weak, or partial government of the Engliſh king. Einion, the nephew of the Welſh prince, and a gallant youth, had been lately murdered in his bed by his own ſervant, at the inſtigation of the earl of Glouceſter.[1] Finding no protection from the Engliſh, or ſafety in ſubmiſſion, Rhys once more determined to truſt his fortunes to the deciſion of arms. In his firſt enterpriſe, he obtained poſſeſſion of the territory of Dinevawr, and the large diſtrict of Cantrev Mawr. Having recovered the ancient demeſnes of his family, he then invaded the territory of the earl of Glouceſter; deſtroying in his progreſs, the caſtle of Aberrheidol,* and other fortreſſes belonging to the enemy; and, at length, he reduced likewiſe the entire province of Caerdigan. Eager to recover his hereditary honours, and receiving, no doubt, an additional incentive from the place where he then reſided, which had been the royal ſeat of his anceſtors, Rhys carried his arms into Pembroke; and making many inroads on the eſtates of the Flemings, and ravaging their country, he returned to the caſtle of Dinevawr, enriched with ſpoils, and high in the eſteem of his country.[1]

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[1] Wynne's Hiſt. Wales, p. 189. Chron. of Wales, p. 220.

* On the confluence of the rivers *Rheidiol* and *Yſtwyth*.

Fired by his gallant example, a ſpirit of revolt ſprung up in Wales. With great judgment this prince, during the winter, either by his deputies, or in perſon, had conferences with the different Welſh princes. He called up their ſleeping virtue, and rouſed it into action, by ſuch incentives as were likely to touch a warm, free, and ſpirited people. He pointed out the proſpect of aſſerting their freedom, which had of late opened on their country, from the diſſenſions which had ariſen in England between Henry and the archbiſhop of Canterbury; and from the probability, likewiſe, that this prince would ſoon be engaged in a war with France; that country, as well as the Pope, having eſpouſed the cauſe of Becket.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 220.

Animated by his generous ſpirit, by the proſperity which had attended his arms, and by ſuch a favourable conjuncture, the prince of North Wales and all his ſons, his brother Cadwalader and the chieftains of Powys, joined Rhys ap Gryffydh; in hopes of regaining the independency they had loſt, and of recovering that honour which of late they had forfeited. At no period, had the Welſh nation united into a confederacy like this; concentering with ſo much energy and force, the various policies and intereſts, the different tempers and abilities of the princes of Wales.[2]

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 439.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 220. Britiſh Antiq. Revived by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

The firſt enterpriſe, under the conduct of David the ſon of Owen Gwynedh, was an inroad into Flintſhire, where he committed moſt grievous devaſtations; carrying away the cattle and inhabitants to the Vale of Clwyd.[1]

During the abſence of the king in Normandy, ſome forces had been levied by parliament for the reduction of Rhys ap Gryffydh.[2] Henry, on his arrival, marched with theſe troops into Flintſhire, for the protection of Rhuddlan caſtle; which fortreſs he was afraid that the Welſh would beſiege. The enemy having retired, and the king, not being ſufficiently in force to purſue them, ſtayed only a few days to augment his garriſons, and marched back into England; in order, by raiſing new levies, to proſecute the war with greater vigour.[3]

A. D. 1165. 11th of Henry II.

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 221.

[2] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Hen. II. vol. II. p. 440.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. ſub Ann. 1165. Chronica Gervaſii, p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

His Britiſh dominions, and the different territories he poſſeſſed in France, furniſhed him with their choiceſt troops; from Normandy, Anjou, and Gaſcony, from Guienne, Flanders, and Britany; and with this combined and formidable force he marched into Powys, in the full reſolution of exterminating the inhabitants.

The Engliſh army entered the Welſh confines at Oſweſtry, where Henry encamped for ſome time;[2] in expectation that the terror of his arms might, by ſhaking the firmneſs of the confederate princes, call them back to their allegiance; or at leaſt, that the protection which ſuch a power would naturally afford, might detach from the common cauſe the chieftains of the houſe of Powys, the uſual adherents of his family. It might have been expected that a confederacy like this, heterogeneous in itſelf, and forming its union from a ſudden impulſe, rather than from ſteady principles of either policy or patriotiſm, would have ſhrunk from ſo formidable an armament. But, determined to reſcue their country from a foreign domination, or to periſh in the attempt, the Welſh princes remained firm and intrepid.

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[2] Welſh Chron. p. 221. Brompton's Chron. ſub. Ann. 1165. Chron. Gerv. p. 1398. Giraldus Cambrenſ. Itin. lib. II. cap. X.

The power of North Wales was collected under the command of Owen Gwynedh and his brother Cadwalader; the forces of South Wales were led by the gallant Rhys ap Gryffydh: thoſe of Powys by Owen Cyveilioc and the ſons of Madoc ap Meredydh. With theſe troops were joined the inhabitants of the country ſituated between the Wye and the Severn, under the leading of their chieftains, the two ſons of Madoc ap Ednerth.

The combined forces of the Welſh aſſembled at Corwen, a ſtrong country in Edeyrnion; in which ſituation of advantage they waited the approach of the Engliſh. With a view of advancing nearer to the enemy, and deſirous of bringing on an action, Henry marched his army to the Ceiriog; a river in the county of Denbigh, and which runs through the Vale of that name. And that he might not be liable to the ambuſcades of the Welſh, he ordered the woods on each ſide of the banks to be cut down.[1] It was probably on the paſſage of this river, that the Engliſh monarch was in imminent danger of his life. Attempting to force a bridge, an arrow aimed at him by the hand of a Welſhman, muſt inevitably have pierced his body, if Hubert de St. Clare, conſtable of Colcheſter, perceiving the danger, had not in a moment ſprung before his ſovereign, and received it into his own boſom; of which wound he inſtantly died.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 221.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 222. Holinſhead's Chron. p. 73. who ſays, this accident happened at the ſiege of Bridge North.

While the Engliſh were employed in cutting down the woods, a party of the Welſh, without any orders from their leaders, but who were acquainted with the ford, paſſed over the river; and made a ſudden attack on the van of Henry's army, compoſed of pikemen, who were conſidered as the flower of his troops. A warm action enſued; many were ſlain on both ſides; at length Henry gained the paſſage; and advancing ſtill farther, came to the mountain of Berwyn, where, in order to refreſh his forces, he lay in camp ſeveral days. The two armies, during this interval, ſeemed to ſtand in awe of each other. The Engliſh were ſtationed on the acclivity of the hills; and the Welſh, preſenting a dark and formidable front, were poſted upon the ſummit of the oppoſite mountains. The ſituation of Henry ſoon became critical. For the Welſh, watching every movement, and loſing no opportunity of cutting off his proviſions, reduced his army to great diſtreſs for want of victuals and forage; the ſoldiers being afraid to ſtir out of the camp. To increaſe ſtill more his danger, there fell on a ſudden ſuch violent rains, as rendered it difficult for his ſoldiers to ſtand on their feet in that broken and ſlippery country; ſuch torrents of water, likewiſe, poured down from the hills into the vale where he lay encamped, that he was obliged to retire, with great loſs of ammunition and of men, and to afford the Welſh ſo glorious an occaſion of triumph.[r] Deeply wounded with a ſenſe of his diſgrace, the liberal ſpirit of Henry was thrown off its bias. To gratify a mean revenge, unworthy of a hero, of injuring thoſe whom his arms had not been able to ſubdue, and that, too, in a manner, ſo wounding to ſenſibility; he commanded the eyes of thoſe hoſtages, which had been formerly given him, to be pulled out. Among the number of theſe unfortunate victims were the two ſons of Rhys ap Gryffydh, and two ſons of the prince of North Wales.[1]

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[r] Welſh Chron. p. 222.

Thus baffled in his operations at land, Henry had recourſe to the more effectual meaſure of attacking the Welſh by ſea. With this view he repaired to Cheſter; and remained there ſome time, until he had collected his fleet, and had received a reinforcement of ſhips, which he expected out of Ireland. Having finiſhed theſe preparations, he ſuddenly gave up the deſign, without any apparent cauſe; and diſmiſſed both his fleet and his army.[2] Unacquainted as we are with his motives, we can only account for this extraordinary conduct, in a prince ſo wiſe and ſpirited as Henry, from a juſt or imaginary fear, that his foreign dominions would be attacked while he was proſecuting the war in Wales. Whatever were the motives of his conduct, it is certain that Henry had tarniſhed the reputation of his arms; and of conſequence that the Welſh princes were more ſtrongly confirmed in their revolt.

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[1] Holinſhead's Chron. p. 73. who ſays, that beſides theſe above-mentioned, he cauſed the ſons and daughters of ſeveral Welſh lords, to be treated with the ſame ſeverity; ordering the eyes of the young ſtriplings to be pecked out of their heads, and the ears of the young gentlewomen to be ſtuffed. Welſh Chron. p. 222.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 222.

Rhys ap Gryffydh, ſuddenly inveſting the caſtle of Caerdigan, gained poſſeſſion of that fortreſs; and then invading the adjacent country, he made himſelf maſter of the caſtle of Cilgerran,* a place of the greateſt importance, which he levelled with the ground. The Welſh prince, then, with great ſpoils, returned into his own territories, with an additional luſtre to his arms.

A. D. 1166. To keep up the ſpirit of revolt, and divide the attention of the Engliſh, the prince of North Wales took the caſtle of Baſingwerk, lately fortified by Henry, which he entirely demoliſhed.[1]

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* Situated on the banks of the Tivi near Caerdigan.

If any thing could have taught the Welſh the ſtrong neceſſity of union, to counteract the deſigns of an oppreſſive and hereditary enemy, it muſt have been the proſperity which had attended the late exertion of their arms; and which had raiſed them on a ſudden from an ignominious dependence, to manly reſiſtance, and generous ſentiments, and to the attainment of their freedom. But a ſpirit of diſunion, inherent in their genius; contracting their views, and governing their conduct, precluded any ſyſtem of general policy; and the public ſafety was left to depend upon rude valour, on a country almoſt inacceſſible, on the caprice of accidents, and on the ſprings of irregular paſſions.

Instead of giving efficacy to their late exertions, by a more cloſe and firmer union,

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 223.

Owen Cyveilioc, and Owen Vychan, two of the lords of Powys, wreſted from a chieftain of eminence, the eſtates he poſſeſſed in that country; and which they divided between themſelves. A like ſpirit of rapacity influenced the other princes of Wales. Breaking the ties of a common intereſt, the prince of North Wales, and his brother Cadwalader, with Rhys ap Gryffydh, invaded and took poſſeſſion of the territory of Owen Cyveilioc;[1] who, with the other chieftains of Powys, had ſo lately joined the confederacy againſt Henry. A part of this territory Owen Gwynedh retained to his own ſhare; the other parts he gave to Owen Vychan and to Rhys ap Gryffydh.[2] But Owen Cyveilioc, ſoon after, by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh army, recovered his patrimony; an event of no moment in itſelf, but only ſerving to mark the little juſtice or wiſdom which directed the conduct of the confederate princes.[3]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 223, 224.

[2] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 5, 6.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 224.

Influenced by motives, more liberal and manly, the Welſh princes, in the abſence of the Engliſh monarch, inveſted the caſtle of Rhuddlan; lately fortified by Henry, and a place of importance upon the Engliſh frontier. The garriſon made a gallant defence, and reſiſted, a long time, and with great ſpirit, the utmoſt efforts of the aſſailants; at length, after a ſiege of two months, this fortreſs was taken, and levelled with the ground. With leſs difficulty, the princes obtained A. D. 1167. poſſeſſion of the caſtle of Preſtatyn, which they likewiſe demoliſhed. The fortifications of Baſingwerk having been lately deſtroyed, this ſucceſs gave Owen Gwynedh the entire poſſeſſion of the maritime parts of Flintſhire.[1]

A concern of greater importance than the revolt of the Welſh, had of late employed the attention of Henry. He was, at this time, in Normandy, engaged in a war with Lewis king of France. The confederate

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 224.

Welſh princes, deſirous of entangling the Engliſh monarch more deeply in foreign diſputes, ſent, in conjunction with William the *Lion*, king of Scotland, ambaſſadors to the French court; with an offer of aid to carry on the war againſt Henry. It does not appear that this propoſal was accepted; though it was the firſt attempt we have ſeen of the kind, which marked the growing importance of the Welſh princes; and the influence of which, they were deſirous of extending to the continent.[1]

A. D. 1169. The riſing proſperity of the Welſh was checked, on a ſudden, by the death of Owen Gwynedh the prince of North Wales. He reigned thirty-two years, and was buried in the cathedral church of Bangor. This prince married, for his firſt wife, Gwladys, daughter to Llywarch ap Trahaearn lord of Pembroke, by whom he had only Jorwerth Drwyndwn, or Edward with the broken noſe; by his ſecond wife Chriſtian, daughter of Gronw the ſon of Owen ap Edwyn lord of Englefield, he had David, Roderic lord of Angleſey, Cadwallon who was abbot of Bardſey, and Angharad married to Gryffydh Maelor. He had likewiſe twelve other children by different women.[1]

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[1] Lord Lyttelton's Hiſt. Henry II. vol. II. p. 534. from V. Epiſt. prædict.

It has been often ſaid, that in order to form a juſt eſtimate of the happineſs of individuals, we are to wait until the period of their lives. It is in the ſame manner that we muſt judge of the character of the late prince. We have ſeen him in the early part of his reign, with equal proſperity and valour, reſiſting the mighty efforts of a wiſe and powerful monarch: and with a patriotiſm that reflected honour upon his judgment, we have ſeen him, on various occaſions, aiding the generous deſigns of Rhys ap Gryffydh. From what motive, then, ſhall we account for the change in his conduct? Having gained the advantage in the conflict at Counſyllt, without any apparent cauſe, unleſs it were the expediency of the moment, he himſelf, under humiliating circumſtances, ſubmitted to become the vaſſal of a foreign prince; and in the conſequence, reduced the chieftains of his country to the like diſhonourable ſituation. Inſtead of affording protection to Rhys ap Gryffydh, which a juſt policy demanded; we ſee him, at one time, aiding the deſigns of the Engliſh monarch to cruſh his gallant coadjutor; and, another time, we ſee him, waſting the national ſtrength, and diverting its force, and tearing aſunder the ties of union and of confidence, by attempting to conquer the territories of Owen Cyveilioc. Inſpired by the example of Rhys ap Gryffydh, and joined in confederacy with the other Welſh princes, we at length ſee him, with an increaſe of importance to his country, recover independency. In this happy period of his days, full of years and ſurrounded by his children, he relinquiſhed the buſy theatre of the world; and, although the mid-day of his life was clouded and inglorious, the evening became ſerene, and cloſed with honour to himſelf and advantage to his country.

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[1] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 3. According to the Welſh Chron. p. 226, this prince had by his firſt wife, beſides his eldeſt ſon Jorwerth; Cynan, Maelgon, and Gwenlhian; and by different women, Cynan, Meredydh, Rhun, Llewelyn, Edwal, Howel, Cadell, Madoc, Einion, Cynwric, Philip, Ririd.

SO whimſical and indeciſive was the mode of ſucceſſion, that as many ſons of the late prince laid claim to the crown, as were under the influence of ambition, or of a fiery, and turbulent ſpirit. Jorwerth his eldeſt ſon, was unanimouſly ſet aſide on account of a blemiſh which he had in his face; and he appears to have reſigned himſelf quietly to the public judgment.[1] Howel, a natural

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[1] He had however aſſigned him for his maintenance, a part of his father's inheritance; the *cantrevs* of Nanconwy

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ſon of the late prince, born of an Iriſh-woman, being the firſt who ſtarted for the prize, gained for a time a precarious poſſeſſion of the throne. David, the eldeſt ſon of Owen Gwynedh by a ſecond wife, regarding his own right, in this conteſt, as indiſputable; and diſdaining to hold under the ſovereignty of a brother, illegitimate and born of a foreign woman, raiſed an army, fought a battle with his rival, and ſlew him A. D. 1169. in the action.[1] By this victory, David obtained the quiet poſſeſſion of the throne of North Wales.[2]

Madoc, another ſon of the late prince, ſeeing the contention which agitated the fiery ſpirits of his brothers, with a courage equal

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and Ardudwy; and reſided at the caſtle of Dolwyddelan, ſituated in the county of Caernarvon. Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 7.—This prince was afterwards obliged to take ſanctuary at Pennant Melangell in Montgomeryſhire, where he died.

[1] Welſh Chron. p. 227.

[2] Memoir Gwedir Family, p. 7. Welſh Chron. p. 227.

to theirs, but far more liberally directed, gave himſelf up to the danger and uncertainty of ſeas, which had been hitherto unexplored. He is ſaid to have embarked with a few ſhips; ſailing to the weſt, and leaving Ireland to the north, he traverſed the ocean, until he arrived by accident upon the coaſt of America. Pleaſed with its appearance, he left in that country a great part of his people; and returning for a freſh ſupply, was joined by many adventurers, both men and women; who, encouraged by flattering deſcriptions of advantage, and ſick of the diſorders which reigned in their native kingdom,[1] were deſirous of ſeeking an aſylum in the wilds of America.[2]

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[1] We know nothing of the reality of this diſcovery, but what is gathered from the poems of Meredydh ap Rhys, who flouriſhed in the year 1470; of Gutwin Owen in 1480; and Cynfrig ap Gronw, near the ſame period. Theſe bards preceded the expedition of Columbus; and relate or allude to that of Madoc, as an event well known, and univerſally received, to have happened three hundred years before. See Jones's Muſical Relics of the Welſh Bards, p. 19.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd. Welſh Chron. p. 228.

A. D. 1172. 18th of Henry II.

It ſeems, as if the death of the late prince of North Wales, had ſuddenly diſſolved the confederacy, and as if the motives for union no longer ſubſiſted. Rhys ap Gryffydh, having lately reduced that part of Powys, which had been the territory of Owen Cyveilioc, gave king Henry the meeting; while he purſued his journey into Ireland. At this conference, he was received into the king's peace, and was confirmed in all the poſſeſſions, which he, at that time, enjoyed; and in conſideration of which, he offered that monarch a conſiderable ſupply of oxen and horſes towards the conqueſt he was meditating; and as a farther pledge of his future fidelity, offered him likewiſe fourteen hoſtages. Henry, proceeding in his progreſs through South Wales, and having entered into the city of Caer Lleon upon Uſke, ejected Jorwerth the lord of that place, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected. Highly incenſed at this outrage, Jorwerth, on the king's departure, ſent his two ſons, with many of his kindred and a number of their followers, to recover poſſeſſion both of the town and the fortreſs. They ſucceeded in part; the town they took and demoliſhed; but they were baffled in every atttempt which they made againſt the caſtle. The king, purſuing his journey to Pembroke, beſtowed upon Rhys a conſiderable extenſion of territory; all Caerdigan, Strath-Towi, Aruſtly, and Elvel. He likewiſe viſited that prince at one of his palaces, called the white houſe, or *Ty Gwyn*, in the preſent county of Caermarthen; where he delivered up his ſon Howel, who had been long left as a hoſtage in Henry's hands; he excuſed likewiſe for a time the delivery of thoſe hoſtages which had been lately promiſed, and remitted alſo the payment of the tribute until his return out of Ireland.[1]

The patriotiſm of the Welſh prince ſunk under the influence of theſe mutual civilities. The gallant and independent ſpirit inherited from a long line of anceſtors, and which had ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed his own conduct; all that the terror of Henry's arms and a ſeries of hoſtilities could not ſhake, was done away by a few acts of a well directed courteſy. Forſaking the dignity and importance of his character, except in a ſingle inſtance, we ſhall ſee him in future only as a *ſatrap* to the Engliſh monarch. Mingling in the common maſs, and loſing for ever the ancient honours of his family, neither this prince nor his deſcendants, from this period,[1] will retain any marks of ſovereignty.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 230, 231.

A. D. 1172. On the return of Henry out of Ireland, the expedition having been rendered fruitleſs by a ſickneſs among his ſoldiers, he was again met by Rhys ap Gryffydh at Talacharn in Caermarthenſhire; where he paid him the cuſtomary duties of a vaſſal.[3]

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[1] From this period the heads of this family were only diſtinguiſhed by the title of *Arglwydhi*, or lords. Humfrey Lhuyd's Brev. p. 75.

[2] Humfrey Lhuyd, p. 76.

[3] Welſh Chron. p. 232.

So difficult is it to eradicate the ſentiments of freedom out of minds accuſtomed to the ideas of independence, and ſo natural are injuſtice and cruelty to men who are deſirous of exterminating that invaluable bleſſing, that Henry found he had not obtained the point of his ambition, by diſarming Rhys ap Gryffydh. Another family, ſtung with a ſenſe of injury, ſprung up to avenge their own private wrongs, and, if poſſible, for a time, to ſtem the torrent which was overwhelming their country.

Before Henry's return into England he had ſent a ſafe conduct to Jorwerth, the chieftain whom he had ſo lately injured; deſiring that he himſelf, his ſons, and all his retainers, would meet him at a certain place on the Borders; that he might conclude a peace with them, and might leave that country in perfect tranquillity. Jorwerth paid inſtant obedience to the king's ſummons, and ſent orders to his ſon Owen to do the ſame, and alſo to give him the meeting on the road. The ſoldiers who garriſoned the New Caſtle* upon Uſke, being informed that Owen was upon his journey in obedience to his father's commands, laid wait for the young chieftain, whom they met on the road, and barbarouſly murdered; unarmed and almoſt without attendance, and reſting in ſecurity on the protection of a great monarch. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that a magnanimous prince like Henry, had any knowledge of a tranſaction ſo cruel, ſo faithleſs, and impolitic. Some of the attendants who eſcaped the maſſacre, carried the account of it to the father; who, deeply wounded by ſo poignant an injury, returned home with his other ſon Howel; determined in future to have no reliance on the faith of the Engliſh. Collecting all the Welſh, whom he himſelf, or his friends could engage in his cauſe, he made incurſions into thoſe parts of Monmouth which were poſſeſſed by the Engliſh; laying waſte thoſe diſtricts, and the bordering counties of England, as far as the gates of Hereford and Glouceſter.[1] A. D. 1172.

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* The preſent Newport.

The Engliſh king, hearing of this inſurrection, appointed Rhys ap Gryffydh chief juſtice of South Wales.[2] He thought, and with a penetrating mind, that even the ſhadow of power, amuſing a ſpirit capricious and vain, might conciliate the affections of this lord; and be a means of diverting his attention from the real dignity and power, which had been wreſted from his family.

The event juſtified the ideas of Henry. A civil war having broken out between that prince and his eldeſt ſon, Rhys ap Gryffydh ſent a choſen body of troops to the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh monarch. A far different ſpirit influenced the conduct of Jorwerth the other Welſh chieftain. Taking advantage of the diſſenſions which then prevailed in England, he laid ſiege to the city of Caer Lleon, of which he was the natural lord, and gained poſſeſſion of that place; he then inveſted the caſtle, which ſoon ſurrendered on condition of giving up the priſoners he had taken; and purſuing his ſucceſs, he brought all Gwent-Is-Coed in Monmouth, except a ſingle fortreſs, under his ſubjection.[1]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 232.

[2] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

A. D. 1173. A SPIRIT of rapacity and injuſtice, very early in his reign, had influenced the conduct of David prince of North Wales. By force of arms, he took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Angleſey, the property of Roderic his brother;[2] whom he cloſely confined in priſon; he likewiſe ſeiſed on the territories of the reſt of his brothers, and his other kinſmen, whom he alſo baniſhed the realm.[3]

To ſubdue the little virtue which remained in the country, Henry employed a new mod of ſeduction; a ſpring that was not likely to fail of ſucceſs. He gave to David the Welſh prince his ſiſter Emma[1] in marriage; thus A. D. 1175. diſarming an hereditary enemy, by the faſcinating influence of ambition and love.[2] On his marriage with the Engliſh princeſs, David ſent over into Normandy a body of Welſh, a thouſand in number, to the aſſiſtance of the king his brother-in-law;[3] Henry being, at that time, engaged in a war with France.

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[1] Welſh Chr. p. 234. [2] Memoirs Gwedir Fam. p. 8.
[3] Welſh Chron. p. 234.

Such was the ſtate of affairs in the principality of North Wales. The ſtream ran equally in favour of the Engliſh in South Wales. The old king, and Henry his ſon, held a great council at Glouceſter, for ſettling A. D. 1176. 22d of Henry II. the peace of South Wales and of the Borders. To this meeting came Rhys ap Gryffydh, juſt returned in the ſervice of Henry from the ſiege of Tutbury caſtle; attended by ſeven chieftains* of eminence, all of them lords in South Wales, and connected with his family by blood or by alliance: and even Jorwerth, forgetting his injuries, repaired with them to Glouceſter, where they all did homage, and made their ſubmiſſions to the Engliſh monarch.[1] In conſequence of this, through the mediation of Rhys, they obtained pardon of the king for all former offences. To render the royal favour more complete, Jorwerth was confirmed in the poſſeſſion of Caer Lleon.[2] And, to unite more cloſely his vaſſals, both Engliſh and Welſh, who were preſent at the aſſembly, the king obliged them to take an oath, that if any one ſhould be ſeparately attacked by any other power in Wales, all the reſt ſhould unite in his defence.[1]

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[1] By this princeſs David had a ſon named Owen. See Hiſt. Gwedir family, p. 12.

[2] Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 205. Hiſt. Gwedir Fam. p. 8.

[3] Holinſhead, vol. II. p. 93. Welſh Chron. p. 235.

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* Cadwallon ap Madog, of Melienydd, who was couſin-german to Rhys; Einion Glyd, of Elfel; Einion ap Rhys, of Gwrthrynion, ſon-in-law to Rhys; Morgan ap Caradog ap Jeſtyn, of Glamorgan; Gryffydh ap Ifor ap Meuryg, of Senghennyth; Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, of higher Gwent, brother-in-law to Rhys; and Jorwerth ap Owen, of Caer Lleon.

[1] Britiſh Ant. Reviv. by Vaughan of Hengwrt, p. 23.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 236.

A. D. 1176. It appears, at this period, as if the ſenſe of their native independence, that invigorating principle of action, no longer ſubſiſted in the minds of the Welſh. David prince of North Wales, Rhys ap Gryffydh, Owen Cyveilioc, and other chieftains in Powys, with many of the Welſh nobility, repaired, upon Henry's ſummons, to a parliament which he held at Oxford;[2] a ſcene, flattering to the Engliſh monarch, in which the ſpirit of the Welſh princes is ſeen to bend under the influence of ſuperior talents.[3]

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[1] Benedict Abbas, p. 110. Brompton's Chron. ſub. Ann. 1175, p. 1102.

[2] Holinſhead, p. 101. Benedict Abbas, vol. I. p. 111. Hovedon, p. 566.

[3] At this parliament, Henry gave Eleſmere in the marches to David prince of North Wales, and the territory of Meirionydh to Rhys ap Gryffydh. Hovedon, p. 566. Benedict Abbas, p. 205.

The ſpirit of the times, foſtered by deadly feuds and by national hatred, was kept alive, and rendered more ferocious by a ſeries of reiterated injuries. Henry de Hereford, uncle to William de Bruce lord of Brecknock, had been lately murdered by ſeveral of thoſe chieftains, who, in the preceding year, had become vaſſals to king Henry. To revenge this murder on the heads of the perpetrators, but under pretext of celebrating their late A. D. 1177. union, William de Bruce invited to an entertainment at his caſtle of Abergavenny, Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, Geoffry his ſon, and many other chiefs of the moſt conſiderable diſtinction in Gwent. In the midſt of their feſtivity, with a view of inflaming their minds, and of giving ſome colour to the baſeneſs of his deſign, he informed the Welſh chieftains, that in future they ſhould not travel armed either with their ſwords or their bows; and he inſtantly required them to take an oath for the due performance of the ſame. It is eaſy to imagine in what manner a fiery and high-ſpirited nobility would reliſh ſo imperious a command, which they would only conſider as a badge of their ſlavery. It was univerſally rejected. On a ſignal, then, being made, a number of armed ſoldiers, who had been ſtationed in the caſtle for this purpoſe, ruſhed into the hall, and maſſacred the Welſh lords.[1] Not ſatisfied with the blood which he had already ſhed, Bruce, attended by his ruffians, proceeded to the houſe of Seiſyllt, at no great diſtance, which he ſet on fire; then, ſeizing the wife of that chieftain, and murdering in her preſence her infant ſon, he carried away the wretched mother to the caſtle of Abergavenny.[2] As the juſtice of Henry did not ſeverely puniſh this outrage, which every law of prudence and humanity demanded, we have the liberty of thinking, that even that great prince knew, when to relax its uſual vigour and firmneſs.

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[1] Matth. Paris, p. 110.

[2] Welſh Chron. p. 236, 237. Wynne's Hiſt. of Wales, p. 204.

Roderic, who had been lately impriſoned by his brother the prince of North Wales, broke out of his confinement, and fled into Angleſey; where he was univerſally received by the people as their ſovereign; David, the reigning prince, having rendered himſelf odious by his cruelty, and having grown bold in the exerciſe of tyranny, by his alliance with the Engliſh king. David, unable to oppoſe, thought it prudent to withdraw from the ſtorm, and retired for ſecurity to the Engliſh ſide of the Conway;[1] retaining in his poſſeſſion only the caſtle of Rhuddlan, and the territories adjacent, which he held by the aſſiſtance of an Engliſh garriſon.[2] The young prince Llewelyn, the ſon of Jorwerth Drwyndwn, was at this time under the protection of his uncle Roderic, and reſided in his court.[3]

Cadwalader, the brother of Owen Gwynedh, having been forced, by the ſeverity of that prince, to reſide ſome time in England, and to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of Henry; was at this time murdered by the Engliſh on his journey into Wales, while he was travelling under the ſafe conduct of the king. This breach of public faith ſoon met with exemplary puniſhment. All the perſons concerned in the murder were condemned to the gibbet.[1] Such an act of juſtice, politic to the laſt degree, throws a luſtre, in this inſtance, on the wiſdom and humanity of Henry's government.[2]

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[1] Welſh Chron. p. 236, 237.

[2] Hiſt. Gwedir Family, p. 8.

[3] Ibid. p. 9.

A. D. 1179.

A. D. 1184.

The ſword of juſtice, however, a few years after, was taken up by the Welſh themſelves, enforced by the ſpirit of revenge; a ſpirit of all others the moſt potent in uncultivated minds. It ſeems, that Ranulph de Poer the ſheriff of Glouceſter, had been concerned with William de Bruce in the maſſacre committed, ſeven years before, in the caſtle of Abergavenny. And it is with reluctance we are obliged to relate, that this infamous tranſaction appears to have been perpetrated through the ſecret influence of the Engliſh king.[1] The nephews and the ſons of Seiſyllt ap Dyfnwal, and of the other chieftains who had fallen in the late ſcene of barbarity; having by this time arrived at a manly age, were ſtrongly incited to revenge on the Engliſh, the murder of their kinſmen and parents. In purſuit of this deſign, early in the morning, they aſſaulted the caſtle of Abergavenny; and having ſcaled the walls, took poſſeſſion of that fortreſs, and burning it to the ground, they carried away priſoners the governor and his wife, with all the garriſon. The young chieftains, not having met with the objects of their vengeance, ſtormed another fortreſs lately erected by

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[1] Math. Paris, p. 116. ſays Cadwallon; but he was ſlain before the death of his father. See Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 1. Welſh Chron. p. 238.

[2] This prince was the Lord of Caerdigan, and uſually reſided at the caſtle of Aberyſtwyth. Memoirs of Gwedir Family, p. 6, 7.

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis Itin. lib. I. cap. IV.

Ranulph de Poer, near Monmouth; the garriſon of which, unable to reſiſt their fury, was driven down into the foſſes of the caſtle, and ſlain by the launces of the enemy. Ranulph de Poer, with nine of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in Monmouth, periſhed in the general carnage; and William de Bruce, himſelf, ſorely wounded, and overwhelmed in the foſſe, was with difficulty reſcued, and ſcarcely eſcaped with his life.[1]

A. D. 1184. 30th of Henry II.

INCENSED at this outrage, the king of England advanced with a large army to Worceſter, with the deſign of puniſhing the revolters. His reſentment however was appeaſed by Rhys ap Gryffydh; who repairing to that city took freſh oaths of allegiance, and promiſed to deliver up, as pledges for the peace of the country, his ſon and his nephews.[2]

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[1] Giraldus Cambrenſis, Itin. lib. I. cap. IV. Roger Hovedon, p. 617.

[2] Holinſhead, p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welſh Chron. p. 240.

But the young men, having in memory the fate of thoſe hoſtages, ſo lately the victims of Henry's reſentment, abſolutely refuſed to place themſelves in the ſame perilous ſituation.[1]

The views of the Engliſh monarch were, at length, nearly accompliſhed; the unremitting efforts of his power and his policy, had ſubdued the ſpirit, or had ſeduced from their virtue, a diſunited and improvident people. The fate of this nation was, however, ſuſpended, by the death of its formidable enemy Henry the ſecond. His eldeſt ſon Richard ſucceeded to the throne of England.[2]

A. D. 1189. 35th year of his reign.

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[1] Holinſhead, p. 108. Benedict Abbas, vol. II. p. 411. Welſh Chron. p. 240.

[2] This event was followed by the death of Gryffydh Maelor, the ſon of Madoc ap Meredydh the ſon of Bleddyn ap Cynvyn. He was buried at Mivod, and was lord of the two Bromfields and Mochnant-Is-Rhaider, and left one ſon named Madoc, which he had by Angharad, daughter of Owen Gwynedh, to ſucceed to that part of his father's inheritance which was called Powys Vadoc. Welſh Chron. p. 242.

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A. D. 1190.

The pages of the Welſh annals are diſcoloured at this period by hideous pictures of ſavage manners. Influenced by the "ſpirit "of the firſt born Cain," a brother's arm is raiſed in horrid ſucceſſion againſt a brother; the parent[1] and his children by a courſe of injuries are engaged in mutual hoſtilities, tearing aſunder the ties of affection and of nature.[2] Scenes, ſuch as theſe, ſo expreſſive of horror, diſguſt the eye of humanity; and as the objects which they preſent, are only of a private nature, and do not relate to great or to public concerns, it is with pleaſure that we turn to the more agreeable proſpects, which are opening to our view, of order, and juſtice, of freedom and national importance.

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[1] Rhys ap Gryffydh.

[2] Welſh Chron. from page 240 to 250.

END OF VOL. I.

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